Shifting Social Imaginaries in the Hellenistic Period

NARRATIONS, PRACTICES, AND IMAGES

Edited by
EFTYCHIA STAVRIANOPOULOU

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Shifting Social Imaginaries in the Hellenistic Period

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The present volume originated in a conference held at the *Internationales Wissenschaftsforum Heidelberg* on November 10 to 11, 2011. The conference was part of my research project 'The Elusive Greekness: Intertwined Social Imaginaries and Practices in Greece and the Near East in the Hellenistic Period' at Heidelberg University's Cluster of Excellence 'Asia and Europe in a Global Context'. I am indebted to the directors of the Cluster of Excellence for supporting this project from which the idea of this conference took its start as well as for providing the generous funding of the conference and the preparation of its publication.

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Arguably, the concept of the social imaginary and its methodological use in studies on the Hellenistic period did more to provoke discussions than to elicit answers. However, the enthusiasm with which the speakers undertook to confront the topic underlines how challenging they believed this venture to be. I am most grateful for their participation and for the insights they contributed. I hope that the volume reflects some of the stimulating discussions we had in Heidelberg.

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NOTES ON ABBREVIATIONS AND TRANSLITERATION

Names of ancient authors and titles of texts are abbreviated in accordance with the *Oxford Classical Dictionary* (rev. 3rd edition, Oxford, 2003) and Lidell-Scott Jones, *A Greek-English Lexicon* (rev. 9th edition, Oxford, 1996). Abbreviations of journal titles (unless written out) correspond to those used in *L'Année philologique*. Epigraphical corpora are abbreviated in accordance with the *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*. Abbreviations of papyri correspond to those used in *Checklist of Greek, Latin, Demotic and Coptic Papyri, Ostraca and Tablets* (http://scriptorium.lib.duke.edu/papyrus/texts/clist.html, last updated 1 June 2011). In transliterating ancient Greek names a direct transliteration of the Greek has been generally used, but common and familiar Latinized forms have been retained (e.g. Bactria, Cappadocia).

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Kaiserzeit (2006) *Ritual and Communication in the Graeco-Roman World* (2006, ed.), and *Transformations in Sacrificial Practices: From Antiquity to the Modern Times* (2008, edited with A. Michaels and C. Ambos).

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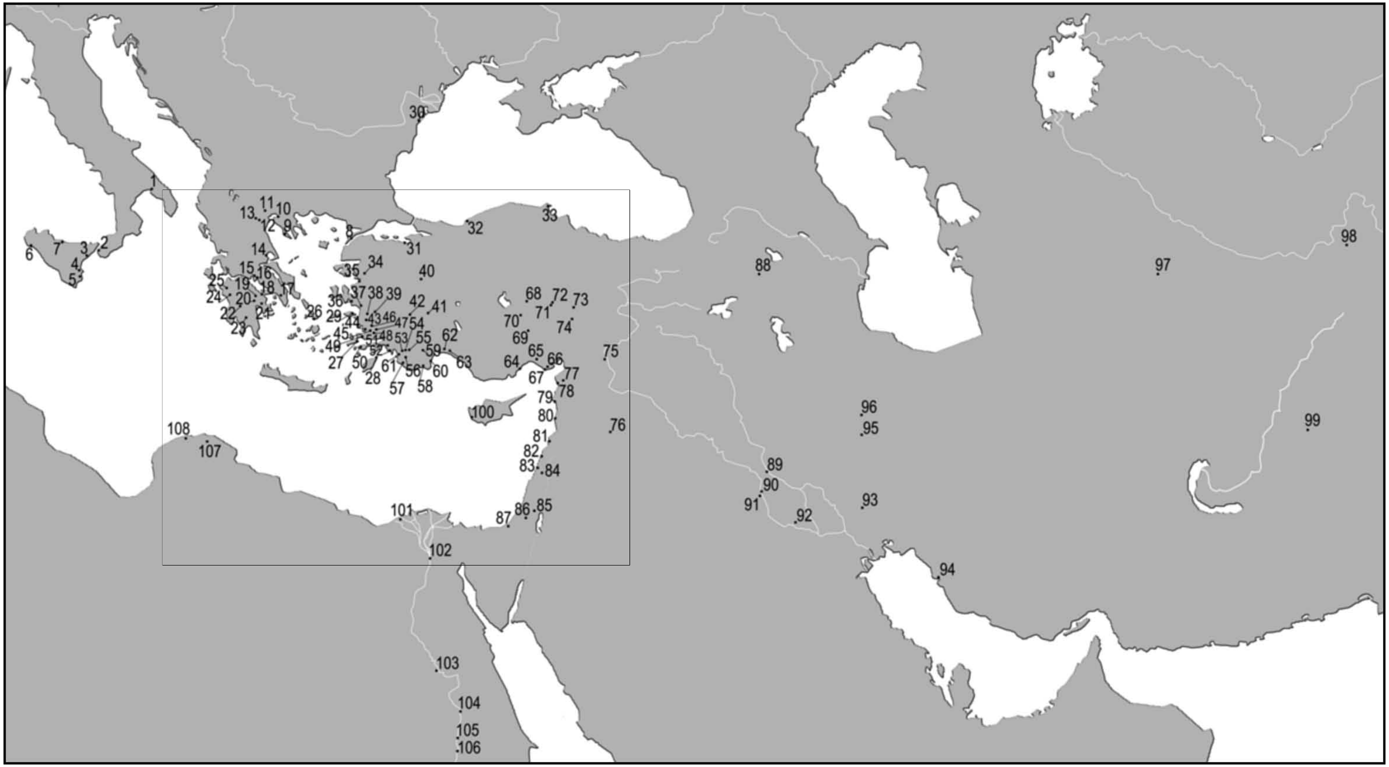

Fig. 1. Map of cities mentioned in this volume. Graphics, M. Kostoula.

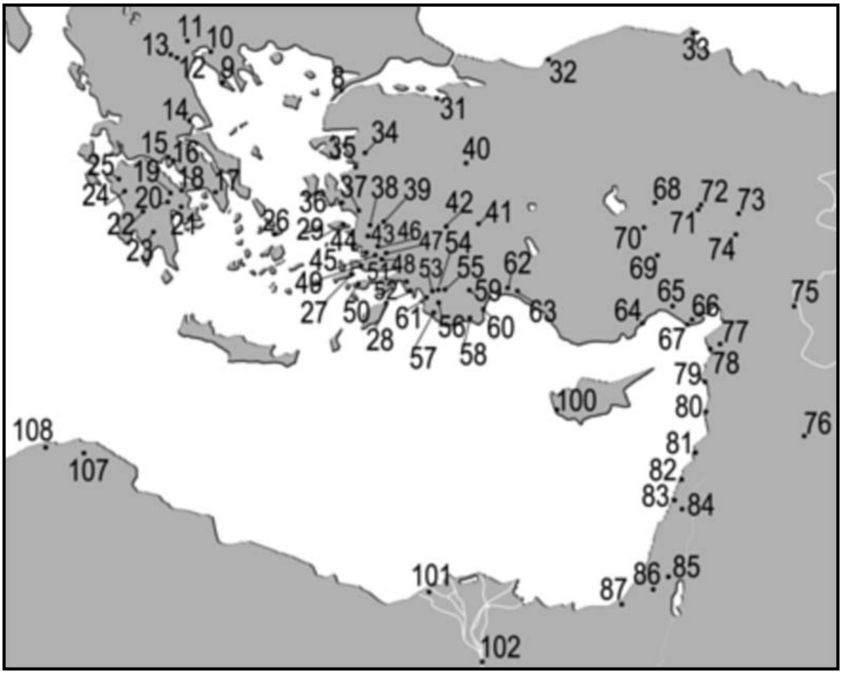

Fig. 1 (*detail*).

Legend

1. Tarent
2. Rhegion
3. Tauromenion
4. Megara Hyblaia
5. Syracuse
6. Selinous
7. Cefalù
8. Sestos
9. Kassandreia
10. Thessalonike
11. Pella
12. Aigai
13. Beroia
14. Demetrias
15. Delphi
16. Kytenion
17. Athens
18. Isthmos
19. Nemea
20. Argos
21. Epidauros
22. Megalopolis
23. Sparta
24. Olympia
25. Elis
26. Delos
27. Kos
28. Rhodes
29. Samos
30. Istros
31. Daskyleion
32. Herakleia Pontike
33. Sinope
34. Pergamon
35. Kyme
36. Teos
37. Kolophon
38. Magnesia on the Maeander
39. Tralleis
40. Aizanoi
41. Apameia
42. Hierapolis
43. Amyzon
44. Iasos
45. Mylasa
46. Labraunda
47. Koaranza (= Lagina)
48. Hyllarima
49. Halikarnassos
50. Knidos
51. Kaunos
52. Lissai
53. Kadyanda
54. Araxa
55. Oinoanda
56. Tlos
57. Xanthos
58. Limyra
59. Toriaion
60. Phaselis
61. Telmessos
62. Perge

63. Aspendos
64. Elaioussa (Sebaste)
65. Tarsos (= Antiocheia on the Kydnos)
66. Mallos
67. Antiocheia on Pyramos
68. Morima
69. Eusebeia near the Tauros (= Tyana)
70. Archelais [= Garsau(i)ra]
71. Eusebeia near the Argaios (= Mazaka)
72. Hanisa
73. Ariaratheia
74. Komana (Kataonia)
75. Zeugma
76. Palmyra
77. Antiocheia
78. Seleukeia on the Orontes (= Seleukeia Pieria)
79. Laodikeia on the Sea
80. Marathos (= Amrit)
81. Byblos
82. Sidon
83. Tyre
84. Kedesh
85. Jerusalem
86. Maresha
87. Raphia
88. Artaxata
89. Seleukeia on the Tigris
90. Babylon
91. Borsippa
92. Uruk
93. Susa
94. Antiocheia in Persis
95. Hamadan
96. Laodikeia-Nehavend
97. Alexandria/Antiocheia (Margiana)
98. Aï Khanoum
99. Alexandria in Arachosia
100. Paphos
101. Alexandria
102. Memphis
103. Abydos
104. Apollonopolis Magna (= Edfu)
105. Elephantine
106. Philai
107. Kyrene
108. Ptolemaïs

INTRODUCTION

Eftychia Stavrianopoulou

> Θεοῖς τοῖς καταγομένοις ἐξ γαίης ἀλλοδαπῆς
> ἔνθα εἰς Πέτραν
> [—]μιος εὐχαριστῶν σὺν ἰδίοις
>
> (*IGLS* 21.4, 128)

Even if the word 'Hellenism' did not exist before Droysen,[1] an awareness of a wide interdependent world is already reflected in the term *oikoumene* (the inhabited world), the use of which is well documented from the Hellenistic through the Roman Imperial era. The entanglement of the universal and the particular, or what is nowadays called the 'global-local nexus',[2] was already the subject of discourse back then, as Polybius' well-known passage on the rise of the Roman Empire exemplifies: 'Previously the doings of the world had been, so to speak, dispersed, because they were held together by no unity of initiative, results, or locality; but ever since this date history has been an organic whole, and the affairs of Italy and Libya have been interlinked with those of Greece and Asia, all leading up to one end'.[3] The awareness of diversity and interconnection, the need to take the 'local' and the 'global' simultaneously into account are obviously not new trends in historiography. Yet, the concept of entanglement continues to challenge current research on the Hellenistic period.

The expansion of Macedonian rule under Alexander the Great and the Graeco-Macedonian elite's assumption of power across much of the Near and Middle East undoubtedly initiated a new era of encounters between East and West, which were of fundamental and long-lasting importance to the political and cultural re-organization of a geographical area that was home to various ethnic groups and political systems. These encounters have

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[1] On the concept of Hellenism and its periodization as introduced by J.G. Droysen, see now Buraselis 2012 with older bibliography.

[2] On the definition of 'glocalization', that is, 'thinking globally and acting locally' or perhaps better 'local thinking with global relevance', see Robertson 1995.

[3] Polyb. 1.3.3–4. On the concept of universal historiography, see Alonso-Núñez 2002.

traditionally been analyzed on the basis of two opposing models.[4] The first was founded on the idea of a fusion of cultures that resulted in homogeneity (*koine*) through the wholesale adoption of the Greek language and cultural forms by non-Greek populations. Terms such as 'Hellenization', 'assimilation' or 'acculturation' insinuate a unidirectional flow of power and influence moving from the core to the periphery, with all cultural and political transformations emanating from a central authority. This view has more than anything else hindered any appreciation of the manifold consequences triggered by the creation of new spaces of connectivity between various cultures and societies in parts of Europe, Asia and Africa.

The model of a 'colonial' power was formulated in direct opposition to this line of thought. According to this model, the Greek culture of the ethno-elite and subjugated cultures of non-Greek groups co-existed in segregation, but also in tension and even in conflict.[5] The discourses of post-colonial studies, Orientalism and multiculturalism have had a considerable impact on studies of the Hellenistic Near East, where they have advanced in opposition to the dominating Westernizing Graeco-Roman perspective.[6] While they have rightly raised awareness of the agency of local groups and cultures, their restricted focus on the position of local social actors has ironically reinforced a belief in a strictly dualistic representation of rulers and ruled. In short, this model has attacked the general approach to Hellenization without challenging the overall perspective.[7]

Recently John Ma has gone beyond this opposition of fusion/apartheid by drawing attention to consciously or unconsciously overlooked 'paradoxes'. To illustrate his point Ma has looked at objects from Ptolemaic Egypt, such as sympotic vases with Greek motifs in Egyptian faience or ruler portraits combining Greek and pharaonic motifs.[8] Such artefacts are obviously difficult

---

[4] Or 'paradigms', see Ma 2008, who also points to a second oppositional pair, namely, the decline/vitality of a *polis*. See also Rotroff 1997, 223–225, who distinguishes between three models: the hellenizing model, the 'apartheid' model (both with a strongly Eurocentric perspective), and the 'patchwork' model, 'with Greeks dominating in some areas, indigenous cultures in others'. See also Cartledge 1987 for an overview on the different approaches to Hellenism.

[5] For Said's influence (1978) on Hellenists, see Vasunia 2003; on ethnic segregation, see e.g. Briant 1990, van der Spek 2005 and 2009. On the case of Ptolemaic Egypt, see Selden 1998, Vasunia 2001, Stephens 2003, Thompson 2009, and most recently the overview in Moyer 2011, 1–35.

[6] See e.g. Kuhrt and Sherwin-White 1987; Briant 1990; Johnson 1992; Sherwin-White and Kuhrt 1993.

[7] Bagnall 1997.

[8] Ma 2008, 372–373.

to interpret as expressions of an 'apartheid' system, but also problematic if interpreted within the frame of the fusion paradigm, whose 'blanket description is unhelpful, and leaves out motivation, context, function'.[9] Ma's list of examples could likewise have included the incorporation of a Greek-style frieze with a Greek inscription in the Babylonian Rēš Temple which was built by Kephalon *alias* Anu-uballiṭ,[10] as well as the sheer presence of theatres, *gymnasia* and *agorai* in non-Greek regions starting with Aï-Khanum. Ma advocates that 'we find a way of embracing it—in other words, of seeing paradox and locating our historical interpretation in its midst: in this approach, paradigms serve not to dismiss strangeness, but to see it'.[11] In my opinion, 'to take paradox and not paradigms as our starting point' is a right step in the right direction, but also a complicated one since it necessitates the revision of what we perceive as paradox, as normal, or as banal.[12]

This volume addresses the problem of intercultural entanglements in the Hellenistic period with the aim of provoking a rethinking of our assumptions regarding what we define as 'Hellenism'. To this end, the framework of our detailed analysis must take into account both the phenomenon of cultural globalization in this period and the relational construction of identities on a local level. In my opinion, the concept of the social imaginary is particularly appropriate to this task.

The idea of a social imaginary as an enabling and prohibiting symbolic matrix, a creative force, essential to each individual and society has received its fullest contemporary elaboration in the work of Cornelius Castoriadis, most notably in his book *The Imaginary Institution of Society*.[13] Castoriadis developed the idea of the social imaginary in the late 1960s as a reaction to his personal disillusionment with Marxism and its deterministic features.[14] To him, the imaginary was 'the capacity to see in a thing what is not, to see it other than it is'.[15] Castoriadis distinguishes between a *radical imaginary* that is found on the individual level and a *social imaginary* that is situated on the social level.[16] Both are intimately bound: 'they exist by virtue of

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9 Ma 2008, 372–373.
10 See Baker in this volume.
11 Ma 2008, 373.
12 Ma 2008, 384–385. (quote on p. 376).
13 Castoriadis 1987 (originally published in 1975).
14 Castoriadis 1987, ch. 1.
15 Castoriadis 1987, 127.
16 Castoriadis 1987, 146, 369–373: 'the ultimate or radical imaginary, that is the capacity to make arise as an image something that does not exist and has never existed, and the *products*

representation or implicit understandings, and they are the means by which individuals understand their identities and their place in the world'.[17] Furthermore, the imaginary dimension of practices, stories, symbols, and objects is not to be seen as a derivative, the mere reflection of what is already there, but rather as the constitutive 'magma of meaning'.[18] Thus as Castoriadis (1987: 145) notes:

> This element—which gives a specific orientation to every institutional system, which overdetermines the choice and the connections of symbolic networks, which is the creation of each historical period, its singular manner of living, of seeing and of conducting its own existence, its world, and its relations with this world, this originary structuring component, this central signifying-signified, the source of that which presents itself in every instance as an indisputable and undisputed meaning, the basis for articulating what does matter and what does not, the origin of the surplus of being of the objects of practical, affective, and intellectual investment, whether individual or collective—is nothing other than the *imaginary* of the society or of the period considered.

Consequently, it is through the collective agency of the social imaginary that the characteristic and articulated social world of any society is created, that institutions are structured in a specific manner, that a society is given coherence and identity.[19]

Despite Castoriadis' account of the social imaginary as the matrix of innovation and change and thus of the social production of meaning, he—as Gaonkar rightly observes[20]—'rarely engages the question of how change and difference are produced locally through the workings of the social imaginary's significations at specific social historical conjunctures'. Departing from Castoriadis, and even more from Benedict Anderson's concept of an

---

of this imaginary [...] the actual imaginary' (p. 127 with n. 25). As key examples of social imaginaries, Castoriadis uses the Old Testament God and the philosophical and democratic conceptions of the ancient Greeks (pp. 128–131).

17 Gaonkar 2002, 4; Cf. Castoriadis 1987, 127–128 on the mutual relationship of the symbolic (: 'the imaginary has to use the symbolic not only to "express" itself (this is self evident), but to "exist", to pass from the virtual to anything more than this') and the imaginary (: 'symbolism too presupposes an imaginary capacity', but 'this does not mean that the symbolic is, on the whole, only the actual imaginary with respect to its content. The symbolic includes, almost always, a "real-rational" component: that which represents the real or is indispensible for thinking of it or acting on it').

18 Castoriadis 1987, 340–344.

19 Castoriadis' tendency to homogenize, which derives to some extent from his emphasis on society rather than individuals, has been criticized, cf. Strauss 2006, 324–326.

20 Gaonkar 2002, 9.

imagined community,[21] Charles Taylor proposed in his 2002 essay, 'Modern Social Imaginaries', a cultural model that revealed the rise of individualism in modern societies and the change in the conception of society.[22] What is distinctive about Taylor's approach is his emphasis on its methodological use as a key concept in the hermeneutics of history and culture:

> I want to speak of social imaginary here, rather than social theory, because there are important—and multiple—differences between the two. I speak of *imaginary* (i) because I'm talking about the way ordinary people "imagine" their social surroundings, and this is often not expressed in theoretical terms; *it is carried in images, stories, and legends*. But it is also the case that (ii) theory is usually the possession of a small minority, whereas what is interesting in the social imaginary is that it is shared by large groups of people, if not the whole society. Which leads to a third difference: (iii) the social imaginary is *that common understanding that makes possible common practices and a widely shared sense of legitimacy*.[23]

For Taylor the social imaginary is a flexible intermediary between embodied practices and explicit theories. The relation between the three is dynamic. A social imaginary generates worldviews and perceptions, which directly affect embodied practices and imbue the accompanying cultural forms with meaning and legitimacy. The close interlinkage between practice and imaginary becomes even clearer when the latter changes, and established practices are reinterpreted and new ideas lead to new practices.[24]

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21 Anderson 1983 shares with Castoriadis an emphasis on imaginative creations and their constructive aspect, but in contrast to him, is not concerned with the imaginary of a particular group, but rather with the concept of nation as 'an imagined political community—and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign'; also: 'In fact, all communities larger than primordial villages of face-to-face contact (and perhaps even these) are imagined. Communities are to be distinguished, not by their falsity/genuineness, but by the style in which they are imagined' (p. 6). See also Taylor 2002, 92.

22 See also Taylor 2004. The essay (and the book) by Taylor is a product of a working group of four scholars (B. Lee, C. Taylor, M. Warner, and D.P. Gaonkar) on *new imaginaries* (1999): Gaonkar 2002, 4–6. As Gaonkar states, 'the ideas about the social imaginary that emerge in this collection of essays are significantly different from those enunciated by Castoriadis' (pp. 5–6). This is obviously the reason why there is no reference to Castoriadis but only to Anderson (see n. above) in Taylor's book, though in Gaonkar's introduction, the opposite is the case.

23 Taylor 2002, 106. My italics and subdivision.

24 Taylor (2002, 111) thinks of transformations in terms of a long marsh: 'What I'm calling the "long marsh" is a process whereby new practices, or modifications of old ones, either developed through improvisation among certain groups and strata of the population [...] or were launched by elites in such a way as to recruit a larger base [...] Or alternatively, a set of practices in the course of their slow development and ramification gradually acquired a new meaning for people and hence helped to constitute a new social imaginary'.

To summarize: In Castoriadis' work, it is mainly the ontology of the socio-historical, the 'distinctively cultural dimensions of history and society [that are] structured around ways of experiencing and interpreting the world'.[25] Taylor's model, on the other hand, offers a sort of instrument for better grasping the imaginary on the individual but also on the collective level.

The creative aspects of the social imaginary become especially evident when we are dealing with the intercultural—and 'global'—encounters that occurred in the Hellenistic period.[26] Although both Castoriadis and Taylor do not elaborate on the impact of such interactions on the social imaginary of the parties involved, it is quite challenging to analyze their role in such processes. As we have seen, the social imaginary, which is encapsulated in images, stories and legends, provides a basis for generating common practices and, at the same time, grants a broadly accepted sense of legitimacy to such practices and their specific meanings. Interactions followed by appropriations of ideas, artefacts or practices presumably cause changes to, modifications of, or improvisations on previous practices and discourses,[27] and accordingly transform the social imaginary. Such a dialectical process

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25 Arnason 2011, 115.

26 An appreciation of the insights gained in the last decades from studies dealing with cultural repercussions of globalization and its twofold understanding as either a global creation of locality (Appadurai 1990, Featherstone 1990, 1995; Hannerz 1990; Kearney 1995; Robertson 1995; Fine 2010) or as a 'third space' phenomenon of cultural hybridity (Bhabha 1994; Miller 1994; Pieterse 1995) is missing within the field of Ancient History (exceptions: Couvenhes and Legras 2006 and Legras 2012, on cultural transfers and the 'histoire croisée' [see n. below]; Whitmarsh 2010a on the dialogue between local and translocal; van Dommelen and Knapp 2010 on material culture, mobility and identities). The application of a concept that is based on the entanglement of what are conventionally called the global and the local, differs from focussing solely on localisation, since it does not only avoid the dichotomies between the local and the global, but foremost offers a new outlook markedly differing from past essentialist approaches designating the results of such intercultural encounters as 'cultural syncretism'. Cf. Whitmarsh 2010b, 3–4: 'it is the central contention of this volume that local identities are not static, "authentic", immured against change, but in constant dialogue with the translocal. An account of local identity cannot be written without an awareness of the "globalising" forces that create, structure and (to an extent) oppose it'.

27 The creation of an awareness of the 'interconnected histories' behind such globalization processes (e.g. transfer, interconnection, and mutual influences across boundaries) along with a strong sense of the diversity of cultural backgrounds are some of the consequences of modern historiographical tendencies, such as the 'histoire croisée' ('Verflechtungsgeschichte', 'entangled history'): see Werner and Zimmermann 2002, 2006; Cohen and O'Connor 2004; on the differences and tension between comparative history and entangled history, see Kocka 2003; Kocka and Haupt 2009.

affects not only the continuous adaptation of practices to new contexts of meaning, and vice versa, but also the social imaginary of the parties participating in the cultural encounter. This, in turn, leads to a shift in meaning in social practices and discourses.

Change and Continuity

In this volume, the problem of cultural appropriation binds the various topics, regions and sources. Due to the omnipresence of the term "appropriation" in the discourse of so many disciplines, at least in the past thirty years, and its volatile connotations (from a simple acknowledgment of 'borrowing' or 'influence' to a stress on its association with power, i.e. 'to gain power over'),[28] its use in this volume requires clarification. The theoretical potential of cultural appropriation lies in its capacity as a hermeneutic approach for explaining the different ways in which foreign cultural forms are integrated in a new context.[29] 'Appropriation, as a mode of cultural change, is nothing that happens *automatically* [my italics], but it deals with local action and the creation of local meaning'.[30] Thus, appropriation is a dynamic process that consists of the 'translation' or negotiation of the meaning of ideas, objects or practices received from the outside and their transformation and integration into the respective social imaginary.[31] The role of the social imaginary—of both the collective and the individual—is decisive in these creative processes.[32]

The question as to how to identify cultural appropriation in our sources is addressed by many authors. It refers to ways of approaching a context, but also to discussions on the interplay between change and continuity, centre and periphery, homogeneity and heterogeneity, and last but not

28 Cf. Ashley and Plech 2002 on the use of cultural appropriation in general and in particular in medieval studies, and Hahn 2008 on the ethnological perspective.

29 So Hahn 2008, 199: 'The concept of appropriation [...] is focussed on the different aspects of acting on the local level. So, appropriation is an instrument that helps us to examine questions of rejection, takeover, adoption, or reinvention without preassumptions. [...] Instead of limiting the perspective to culture contact (or cultural mixing) by using appropriation, cultural change becomes the focus'.

30 Hahn 2008, 199.

31 Maran 2012, 62–63. Cf. also Sponsler 2002 (esp. 19–20) who likewise underlines the dynamic quality of appropriation and argues that emphasis be placed not on 'the things being appropriated' but on the processes of 'cultural creations and transmission'.

32 So already Maran 2012, 63, who further points out that 'the negotiation of the meaning and value of foreign features is directly linked to how the surrounding world is conceived'.

least the problematic of 'Hellenization'.[33] Deniz Kaptan illustrates this problematic with three examples: seals from western Asia Minor made under Achaemenid rule, the adoption of the Achaemenid bowl, and the mobility of artists. She argues that artefacts such as the so called 'Graeco-Persian' seals can be taken as evidence of appropriation but only after their context, i.e. that is, their function as social products, has been taken into consideration. Judging them merely according to style leads to simplistic, and often misleading, results. In such a case, the 'ethnic' background of the seal owners and/or the object's artistic style take on a secondary importance since the seals are primarily defined by their use in Achaemenid administrative practice. In the second example, the wide distribution and rich variety of deep ceramic bowls of the Achaemenid type throughout western Anatolia points to a different pattern. Involved here is the adoption and integration of an originally metal vessel as well as its use, since presumably it accompanied a change in the drinking habits of local elites. What emerges is a portrait of a homogeneous elite that has associated itself with the centre through special practices. The third example relates to artistic patronage and the mobility of artists. Artists in regional courts outside the Persian heartland offer another way of documenting how ties to the central power may have been forged, and, indirectly, how an image of homogeneity was created. On the one hand, artists guaranteed an expert transmission of authentic Achaemenid court style, on the other, they served as the link between centre and provinces, but also among provinces. Moreover, on a local level, the work of artists may have launched further processes that did not necessarily have to do with the initial intentions of their patrons.

The patterns described refer above all to the local elites' attitude under Achaemenid rule and to their contribution to the construction of an overall picture of homogeneity and unity. Under Seleukid rule, we are confronted with similar patterns and similar questions regarding—in the words of Rolf Strootman—'the paradox of the simultaneous existence [...] of, on the one hand, localized indirect rule founded on the cooperation of heterogeneous civic elites [...] and on the other hand, imperial unity visualized by the consistent use of [...] more or less similar images of imperial power for the entire empire'. Which strategies were employed by local elites (represen-

[33] As Erskine and Llewellyn-Jones 2011, xvii, note about scholarly discussions on transformations in the Hellenistic period, including analyses of the phenomena of change and continuity, 'these in themselves can mislead. What might be seen as change in one place might be continuity in another'.

tatives of cities and/or temples), and which by the dynasty? And does the much-repeated thesis of the continuity of Babylonian culture and institutions still hold?

Heather Baker and Rolf Strootman, who deal with Uruk and Babylon respectively, address these questions by examining some facets of the relationship between local elites and the Seleukid court, and vice versa. Analyzing the archaeological and textual evidence of the self-representation of members of Uruk's local elite, Baker draws our attention to the means by which this was expressed. The Macedonian-style elite burials near Uruk are certainly not only foreign to the Babylonian setting, but are also a direct 'import'. They presuppose a specialist knowledge-transfer but more importantly reveal a world perception stretching from Uruk and Asia to Macedonia, the original homeland of the ruling dynasty. Evidence of belonging to this new world also lies in two dedications written in Greek and Aramaic by Anu-uballiṭ-Kephalon: in Greek because this was the language of the kings; in Aramaic because this was the *koine* of the majority of the local population. The Greek inscription was installed on the Rēš Temple with a Greek-style frieze, the Aramaic one on the Ešgal Temple in honour of the goddess Nanaya, the popularity of whose cult (also as Artemis-Nanaya) extended far beyond the borders of Babylonia. Moreover, both temples underwent rebuilding campaigns under Anu-uballiṭ-Nikarchos (ca. 244 BCE) and Anu-uballiṭ-Kephalon (ca. 201 BCE) most likely with the king's active involvement and support. Thus, the new world of Urukean leaders began with their city, their temples, with diverse (linguistic) communities and extended to the level of the Seleukid rulers, their language, and their origins. From this perspective, the appearance in second-century BCE Babylon of 'Greek' *polis* institutions and practices, and *politai*, Greek-style citizens, along with the local 'traditional' structures becomes understandable.

According to Strootman, the religious sphere served as a contact zone between the Seleukid king and the civic elites in two different ways: on the level of *local* interaction, the Seleukids moved into the cities and cult centres of their territory as patrons (as in the case of Uruk and Babylon) or through direct or indirect participation in local cults and festivals, as testified by ritual prescriptions for the *Akitu* festival and the records of royal visits in Babylon. Moreover, the kings did not limit themselves to acting as 'caretakers' of temples, but 'actively created tradition' (Strootman). Thus Antiochos not only chose the cult of Nabû as the main object of his patronage, but also associated him with Apollo, the Seleukid tutelary deity. In this way, the previously neglected god, Nabû-Apollo, gained prominence with more than one audience. In terms of *global* interaction, representatives of cities

and/or temples came to the imperial court for royal marriages, inaugurations or the celebration of festivals. On these occasions, visitors of different cultural backgrounds were able to air their position as representatives of their respective communities amongst themselves, to enjoy contact with the court without the mediation of the king's royal *philoi*, and to experience (and adopt) the 'right manners of the court'. In sum we get a multifaceted picture of continuously ongoing acts of appropriation between empire and cities, but also within cities themselves (cf. below).

At the core of Gilles Gorre's study lies the semantic field of change and continuity in Ptolemaic Egypt. The principal question he asks can be paraphrased as follows: What change in perception is signified by a statue depicting the typical Egyptian priestly type of the 'striding draped male figure' but with curly hair, a *chiton* and a headband? Should such a figure be understood as a further example of what Ma has called a 'paradox', as a hybrid? Certainly not from an emic point of view. With his diachronic analysis of self-representational testimony (statues and funerary monuments) of Egyptian priests, Gorre shows that this type of statue corresponds to the final phase of a chain of transformations that occurred in the Ptolemaic period. The decisive turning point in the relationship between the Ptolemaic ruler and the Egyptian priesthood, which also marked the beginning of the transformation of its social composition, lay in the reforms of Ptolemaios II. His direct intervention in the cultic and economic aspects of the temples, which involved binding financial privileges to the establishment of cults for rulers and local deities, led to the emergence of a new priestly personnel. This personnel was not only new because it did not stem from the old sacerdotal families, but also and more importantly because in its imaginary, its relation to the king dominated. The narrative of these priests' inscriptions clearly emphasizes their self-understanding as representatives of the kings, but also as local patrons of temples. Further changes in the administration of temples, but also in Egypt as a whole, led to the replacement of priests by military and territorial officials, initially of Greek background, but later also of the progeny of intermarriages between Greeks and Egyptians. The rank in the priestly hierarchy depended on rank in the administrative or military hierarchy. Thus, the link to the ruler—as reflected in changes in their sculpted representations, as noted above—became even stronger, or even of an exclusive quality.

Both features, that is, the active intervention of Ptolemaic rulers in the religious sphere and the adoption of the Ptolemaic rule by the population through a personal relationship to the ruler, can also be discerned in the cult of Sarapis. Eleni Fassa sees the active role of the rulers in the regulation

of its cultural topography: in the dedications of altars for Sarapis and other Isiac deities, the construction of a temple for Sarapis and Isis as well as Ptolemaios IV and Arsinoe III in Alexandria, and the transformation into a Sarapieion of the temple of Osiris-Apis in Memphis and the introduction of Dionysiac imagery (Dionysos as the Greek equivalent of Osiris) along the southern part of the *dromos*, which emphasized the rulers' patronage of the cult of Sarapis and 'promoted a religious atmosphere that prompted inhabitants or visitors [...] to view Sarapis as connected to the Greek kings of Egypt' (Fassa). A direct expression of the Greek-speaking population's reaction can be observed in so-called double dedications. These brief and, at first glance, conventional dedications are private offerings *for* (ὑπέρ + genitive) or *to* (dative) the royal couple and select gods, chiefly Sarapis and Isis. According to Fassa, the Greek-speaking subjects of Ptolemaic rulers used the traditional *hyper*-formula first in order to articulate the connection between the royal couple and the divinity of Sarapis and Isis, and then, in a second step, the simple dative-formula. The second form may indicate not only the strong association between the royal and the divine couple, but also cultic worship of the royal couple.

Modes of Cultural Appropriation

In a volume on local and translocal interactions, the different processes through which the translation, re-interpretation and integration of foreign cultural traits were brought about will inevitably attract much comment. Andrea Jördens 'dismantles' the well-known and much-debated Hellenistic phenomenon of aretalogies by tracing the formative process of this literary genre. Analyzing the form and language of the inscriptions known as 'praises for Isis and her circle', which occur in different versions and in various regions from Thrace (Maroneia) and northern Greece (Thessalonike) to the Aegean islands (Andros, Euboia and Ios), up to Asia Minor (Kios, Kyme, Telmessos) and Egypt (Narmuthis), she compares them to demotic hymns and praises of Isis. There is evidence that the prototype of all these compositions is of Egyptian origin, probably Memphitic. Moreover, the Egyptian praises were performative texts, recited or enacted on certain occasions such as festivals of Isis. This explains their distinctive form, in which the deity herself lists her virtues and deeds to believers with the formulaic: 'I am the one who ...'. Fascinating as these texts may have been to a Greek audience, 'it was not possible to suppress the feeling that this was not the right way to communicate with the deity' (Jördens). Earlier Greek versions

reveal the strategies used to adopt and adapt these texts to their own system of religious communication by setting them in metre, by including epic formulas, and above all by 'no longer letting the deity speak directly' (Jördens). Interestingly, in later versions these modifications returned to the original Egyptian prototype perhaps because the peculiarities of its form ensured the 'authentic' Egyptian nature of the cult.

In my discussion of the phenomenon of *syngeneia*, I deal with the shifting processes of appropriation as well as their impact on the social imaginary of a community. Although the term was widely used in the Greek Classical world, its cultural meaning underwent a transformation already under Alexander when it appeared in new contexts, namely, in encounters with non-Greek communities. The active assumption of this foreign concept of kinship by such communities is exemplified in documents from Magnesia on the Maeander. Embedded in the newly constructed self-conception of the Magnesians and associated with the past, *syngeneia* has been used to argue for the recognition of the cult festival of Artemis Leukophryene by Greek cities. The replies of the cities approached testify to the fact that it was through this dialogical process that the meaning of *syngeneia* was continually negotiated, revalidated and reinterpreted. In turn, the re-localization of the past of all parties involved in such a process linked them together on a global level. The case of Kytenion exemplifies that process in that it reveals the involvement of Greek cities in discourses that originated in the communities of Asia Minor through the reshaping of local legends.

The impact of intercultural entanglements on co-existent multiple social imaginaries is addressed in the contributions discussing continuity and change (cf. Baker, Strootman, Gorre and Marek below). In multicultural states, such as the Seleukid or Ptolemaic ones, the question as to how these diverse groups positioned themselves in relation to each other and above all to the politically dominant group is especially crucial, not least because of the problem of internal stability. Sylvie Honigman approaches these questions by focusing on the group of Judaeans in Ptolemaic Egypt. Starting with the assumption that 'the Judaeans of Alexandria themselves endorsed the two-tiered construction of ethnicity [*sc.* Greeks and Egyptians] and perceived themselves as a sub-category of the Greeks', Honigman offers a revised reading of the *Letter of Aristeas* with which she aims to analyze its internal discourses and hence, the subjective perspective. The two principal strategies that Alexandrian Judaean authors used in their effort to position themselves in the Alexandrian environment were cultural competition, both in a positive and a polemical sense, and emulation. All the textual examples discussed here reveal that the Greek ideas and practices adopted

were used in a discursive way to reassure the self-conception of the Judaeans by simultaneously backing up their claim to being part of the Greek community.

Cultural appropriation is always initially a 'translatory' process that presupposes 'reception', 'interpretation', but also 'selection'. The example of the use of the Greek language in Lykia and Karia as analysed by Christian Marek illustrates that point. Both regions demonstrate an impressive epigraphical tradition with documents written both in epichoric languages, Karian and Lykian, and local dialects. Moreover, from the late fifth century BCE on, not only Greek language, but also Greek art, architecture and political institutions were highly appreciated by local elites in Lykia, especially in the Hekatomnid Karia. The trilingual (Lykian-Greek-Aramaic) inscription from the Letoon in Xanthos (ca. 337 BCE) and the bilingual (Karian-Greek) one from Kaunos (323 BCE), however, reveal the limits of that cultural exchange. The very fact that the respective texts were edited in more than one language reveals the existence of more than one group of recipients in these communities. A comparison of the different versions discloses differentiation in terms that belong to the political sphere. Thus, in the Lykian version of the trilingual inscription of Xanthos, the Greek terms πόλις and οἱ Ξάνθιοι καὶ οἱ περίοικοι correspond to local institutions; the ethnikon *Xanthioi* and the term *perioikoi* represent two distinct units, both of which constitute the decision-making political community, the second being a translation of 'a specific Lykian institution into Greek' (Marek). The Greek and Karian versions in the bilingual inscription from Kaunos, which contains a proxeny decree, are juxtaposed; while the Greek text is not surprising, the Karian lacks any Greek borrowings, particularly political terms, except for the title of supreme magistrate, which is given as *sδrual* in Karian and δημιοργός in Greek. In view of the fact that the later decrees of Kaunos give as eponymous magistrate a priest, the Greek word *demiōrgos*, literally meaning 'one who works for the people' should be regarded as the periphrasis of an originally Karian title. Thus, the awareness of Greek political practices and terminology on the part of both the Xanthians and the Kaunians, did not automatically lead to random adoption, but on the contrary, to a conscious 'translation' and reproduction within the limits of their own political system.

The interpretation of foreign images and artistic styles in the religious sphere poses a challenge. Do artistic changes in the imagery of a particular god likewise reflect changes in the way in which that god was perceived and worshiped? Jessica Nitschke tackles this question on the basis of numismatic evidence in a diachronic study of the Tyrian Melqart-Herakles.

Although the Phoenician kingdoms long played an important role in Mediterranean networks, and the identification of Melqart with Herakles probably came into being while the Greeks were expanding in Sicily in the Archaic period, the earliest images of Melqart on Tyre's coins—clearly resembling the figure of the running Persian 'royal archer'—appeared in the fourth century. Alexander's conquest of Tyre brought about changes in both denomination and imagery, though not until 307 BCE and only to be replaced in the late 280s due to Ptolemaic dynastic issues. Although the image of an idealized strong male youth with lion-skin helmet and club is identified as 'Head of Melqart' or 'Head of Herakles', Levantine evidence does not necessarily confirm this assumption. Surprisingly, positive confirmation of a constructed affiliation between Herakles and Melqart comes from the western Phoenician realm and points not to religious syncretism, but rather to a political context. The adoption of the Alexander-Herakles type on Carthaginian coins minted in Sicily around 300 BCE 'has little to do with a purposeful "Hellenization" of the god Melqart and his cult, but everything to do with the Carthaginians appropriating the imagery of the current dominant powers in the East in order to send a message in a language the Syracusans and the other inhabitants of Sicily would understand' (Nitschke). The fact that the Punians in Spain stopped including the club and laurel wreath in their numismatic images of Melqart after Hannibal's departure show that these symbols and their Greek mythological narrative had no meaning for them. The widespread use of Hellenistic Melqart/Herakles imagery was of consequence to Carthage, as local finds demonstrate, and also to Tyre, which though independent of any Hellenistic dominion or dynasty chose not only to perpetuate but also to enhance it with attributes drawn from Greek traditions related to the god.

Essential to any analysis of processes of cultural transfer are the issues of mediation and transmission in general and the definition of the role of agents within these processes in particular. In their capacity as mediators, agents may open up channels of communication, but also contribute actively to the interpretation and transmission of ideas and practices. This role was assumed by political elites (Baker, Strootman, Michels), intellectuals and historiographs (Honigman, Stavrianopoulou), cult servants such as the *aretalogoi* (Jördens) or even kings (Strootman). Balancing between various concerns and imperatives, moving between the local and supra-local level, agents produced and re-produced discursive 'worlds'. As Christoph Michels argues, close examination of the role of agents may provoke a change in our perception of the ways in which Greek civic institutions and practices spread among non-Greek communities. The decree of the city of

Hanisa in Cappadocia attests not only to the use of Greek as the official language and the presence of fully developed Greek political institutions but also to concepts such as the euergetism. All these features set Hanisa apart from other communities in the same region that still used Aramaic and even Cappadocian. On the other hand, personal names reveal the community's still predominantly non-Greek background. According to Michels, the adoption of elements of Greek political culture should be linked to direct and indirect interaction between local elites and those of Greek/Hellenized *poleis* rather than to royal intervention, that is, according to a top-down scenario. Greek political style and culture should thus be regarded as a shared set of symbols and mentalities transmitted through peer-polity interaction as developed and promoted by supra-local elites. Within a local context, 'Hellenization' may have served as symbolic capital for competition between local elites.

Shifting Worldviews

The contributions discussed above indicate the complexity of what we call 'Hellenistic history', especially when we try to analyze its local aspects by taking the period's global tendencies into consideration. The passage of the old world to the new is the focus of the papers by Onno van Nijf, Andrew Erskine and Rachel Mairs. How did the Greek *poleis* and political systems come to terms with this passage? How was it perceived by Greeks and non-Greeks? Through what means were old and new perceptions articulated? And how do we, modern scholars, approach it?

Onno van Nijf addresses the 'paradoxical stage' on which political life entered in the Hellenistic period. With the adjective 'paradoxical' he wishes to express the continuity of civic institutions along with the rise of civic benefactors, on the one hand, and on the other, 'the remarkable degree of uniformity of this new Greek urban world' as demonstrable in the 'identikit' of a Greek city: a council house, a *gymnasion*, a theatre and an *agora*. Even if the peer-polity interaction model of the elites proposed by John Ma (2003) provides some answers regarding the spread of Greek political institutions, the question of 'how, and by what means, the inhabitants of the Greek cities managed to create and maintain this remarkably homogeneous political culture' (van Nijf) remains open. Focussing mainly on the new social and political phenomenon of the Hellenistic period, namely euergetism and its actors, we tend to forget that the maintenance of traditional civic institutions and even the competitive and patriotic ethos of

local elites make little sense without an engaged *demos*. Moreover, 'political history' encompasses not only formal structures, but also the common values, concepts and the expectations that support them. Van Nijf views the *gymnasion* and the theatre as the two new symbolic centres of political life and alternative stage sets for political culture: the *gymnasion* as the place where notables and ephebes were educated for their future roles as citizens and politicians; the theatre (and auditoria in general) combined with festivals (and public ceremonies as a whole) as sites where the circulation and negotiation of ideas and concepts that underlay the individual social imaginaries of citizens, non-citizens or simply visitors took place and led to the formation and expression of a trans-individual imaginary. In this sense, the shift to the politicization of festivals and the theatricalization of political life does not imply a de-politicization of the *demos*, but rather the transformation of older institutions into new arenas of public discourse.

Reflecting on the transformations affecting political life in Greek cities as well as their citizens justifies Andrew Erskine's seemingly simple question: 'What did the Greeks of the old world think of this new one? How did they view this transformation?' With this question Erskine draws attention to the importance of the emic perspective. To Plutarch's praise of Alexander as the 'bringer of Greek culture throughout the barbarian world' Erskine juxtaposes the perspective of Polybios, whose view of Alexander's conquest of the East was rather different. For Polybios the Macedonian expansion was about dominion and subjection, not unlike the expansion of Rome, to which he was witness. The motive for these ventures was purely defensive, and an old one at that: *Greeks* vs. barbarians. By 'Greeks' Polybios meant above all Macedonians and the Greeks of the Mainland, but possibly the 'Greek-Magnesian' king of Bactria Euthydemos as well. Nevertheless, a closer look at Polybios' view of Ptolemaic Alexandria—a city he knew personally since both he and his father visited it in the 180s and 150s/140s, respectively—reveals additional facets of his concept of Greekness. Polybios, as noted by Strabo, differentiated three groups within the population of Alexandria: Egyptians, mercenaries and Alexandrinians. The order in which he placed them, and not least his characterization of the third party as 'not properly πολιτικοί', though 'superior to the aforementioned' and 'nonetheless Greeks by descent' are striking. He gave credit to the Greek-Alexandrinians for preserving Greek customs, despite the fact that these were anything but common to them, but he also reproached them for their deficient political ethos. Whether this was a consequence of their residence in Egypt, whose people were perceived in a negative light, can be

left open. What is obvious is that Polybios 'did not think about [Alexandria] the same way as he thought about Greek cities nearer to home, Greek cities of the old world' (Erskine). This holds equally true for the Greeks of Alexandria.

Polybios' subjective view of this 'new world' is remarkable not only because it is the view of a direct witness and a historian, but also and even more so because it reveals a seemingly incoherent way of classifying what is 'Greek', 'not properly Greek' or 'non Greek' as well as stereotypes such as the 'people of Egypt are wasteful, lazy and savage'. Such idiosyncratic categorization counters clear-cut differentiation of what should be regarded as 'Greek', 'indigenous' or 'hybrid'. Rachel Mairs' contribution reflects on the discrepancies between material evidence and its interpretation by modern scholarship, especially with regard to issues of identity and its articulation. Her case study is Hellenistic Bactria, a region that displays diverse cultural influences, the consequence of population movements, colonization and outside domination by the Achaemenids, Alexander, and his heirs, whether the Seleukids or local dynasties of Greek descent. In the city of Aï Khanum, regarded as *the* exemplum of the dissemination of Greek culture in Central Asia, for example, Greek elements such as Greek inscriptions and Greek public structures, such as theatres and *gymnasia*, are combined or juxtaposed with non-Greek elements such as palace complexes, temples or houses exhibiting Near Eastern plans or features. As Mairs remarks, 'it is a worthwhile exercise to pick apart these constituent influences'. Yet Aï Khanum or Hellenistic Bactria do not represent the mere sum of all these influences and the supposed ethnic identities behind them. What is viewed from an etic perspective as contradictory diversity, might from an emic perspective have been perceived as consistent or fulfilling a special function. Such is the case of the well-known inscription of Sōphytos from Alexandria in Arachosia, which recounts in highly literary Greek verse the life story of Sōphytos by demonstrating through Homeric allusions his affinity with the Greek (literary) world. Since Sōphytos refers to his travels, it is likely that his Greek taste was the result of direct contact with Greek-speaking regions, which were now part of his 'world'. On the other hand, his references to the fate of his once illustrious family and to his own efforts to restore his family's reputation and fortune so that his sons and grandsons would inherit his *oikos*, place Sōphytos at the centre of a concrete local community. Against this background, the Greek inscription takes on a rather different meaning, since it may also be regarded as a symbol of prestige through which Sōphytos expects to enhance his and his family's social position in the community. In this respect, the inscription of Sōphy-

tos can be interpreted as the expression of his personal ideas and experiences but also as an illustration of the position of new elements, i.e. of the Greek language and the concepts transferred by it, within the local community.

Epilogue

> A righteous Western writer has written
> Who was highly respected among the literati,
> 'Asia was the marshalling place of Sikandar of "Rum",
> His status was more elegant than even the sky.'
> History attests that in combat with the 'Rumans' [*sc.* the Greeks]
> The claims of Porus and Darius were in vain.
> At this emperor with an army of thousands
> The blue sky looked on with amazement.
> Today nobody knows him in Asia,
> Even the historian does not recognize him.[34]

That Alexander *alias* Iskander or Sikandar has been forgotten in Asia, as claimed in this poem by Alama Muhammad Iqbal (1877–1938), is an exaggeration justified by political nationalist tendencies to underestimate the impact of long-standing traditions related to the Macedonian conqueror.[35] In a sort of epilogue to this volume, Omar Coloru explores such traditions about the legendary Alexander and his deeds in the broad geographical area between Iran and Sumatra as recalled in Western travel literature from the 16th through the 19th century. As a founder of towns, constructor of buildings, monuments or humble structures such as kilns, and even creator of '*lieux de mémoire*, with which local people [could] build their own identity or affirm it in the face of other groups' (Coloru), the figure of Alexander underwent continuous transformation and adaptation. Coloru presumes that both the widespread distribution of the myths and tales about Alexander across boundaries and their persistence over time was possible because, in contrast to the Western Alexander, the Oriental Iskander was not bound to the authority of Classical authors and was thus more flexible. Moreover, despite its regional and chronological modifications, the figure of Alexander led to the creation of a transcultural communicative asset shared by individuals and collectives.

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[34] From the poem 'Bilal' by A.M. Iqbal, in Khalil 1997, 327; quoted in Vasunia 2010, 318–319.
[35] Cf. Vasunia 2010, esp. 313–318.

Western travellers also became part of this entangled world since, though 'aware that a certain place or item has nothing to do with the historical reality concerning Alexander, [they took it] more or less consciously as a proof of the influence, as it [was] in [their] eyes, of Western civilization on Eastern traditions' (Coloru). This new appropriation of Alexander's image as bringer of Greek culture to the barbarian world undoubtedly contributed to the re-affirmation of what was meant by 'Greek' and, above all, by 'barbarian'. The methodological approach to the Hellenistic period suggested by this volume is to be seen precisely in this frame, namely, as an effort to understand the multidirectional processes of cultural interaction, to describe their different modes, and to explain their consequences.

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PART ONE

CHANGE AND CONTINUITY

DÉJÀ VU? VISUAL CULTURE IN WESTERN ASIA MINOR AT THE BEGINNING OF HELLENISTIC RULE*

Deniz Kaptan

As the core of the subject is 'shifting social imaginaries' in the Hellenistic period, exploring the *baseline* first would be a good place to start. This paper views the Achaemenid past as a significant source in this attempt, and uses a selection from the seal record of western Asia Minor to characterize visual culture during the Achaemenid period. The purpose is to present some of the trends in the adoption of certain imagery and their correlation with the identities of individuals in the polyethnic society of the Achaemenid Empire. Critically important is to have insights into practices deployed by the local elite and the artistic environments in the satrapal courts. After all, by the end of the fourth century BCE western Anatolia must have retained a comparable demographic, as the new hegemonic class began to establish itself. It should be noted, however, that my aim is not to pave grounds for a discussion of aspects of 'continuity', which might imply a vague and subjective concept. Instead, I intend to put emphasis on some of the experiences, practices and ideologies of the preceding period relevant to the discussions about the Hellenistic period and what could be learned from them.[1]

* I would like to thank Eftychia Stavrianopoulou for inviting me to work on this project and the Cluster of Excellence, Asia and Europe, University of Heidelberg for support of this work. During my visits to Heidelberg, I benefited greatly from stimulating discussions with Drs. Eftychia Stavrianopoulou and Heather Baker. The anonymous reviewer's constructive comments are also highly appreciated. Abbreviations used in this paper: *DS* = Daskyleion Seals, published in Kaptan 2002; *KAI* = H. Donner, and W. Röllig, *Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften*, vol. 1. 5th edition. Wiesbaden 2002; *PFT* = R.T. Hallock, *Persepolis Fortification Tablets* (Chicago 1969); *PFS* = Persepolis Fortification Seals (occurring as impression(s) on the *PFT* tablets), cited according to Garrison and Root 1998; *PFS** = Persepolis Fortification Seals (inscribed), cited according to Garrison and Root 2001.

[1] I follow Root 1994, 10: '"Continuity" [...] does not imply lack of change; nor does it imply unaltering relationship to past traditions. The word necessarily embraces a range of tensional and even dichotomous nuances. Thus, for instance, continuity in art traditions can be reflected in phenomena of revival as well as of survival. Neither revival nor survival would be possible without threads of what I am calling 'continuity' running through the fabric of the particular cultural experience that is making use of the past'.

When Alexander's army won its first battle, on the Granikos plain in northwestern Asia Minor, the Achaemenid Empire had ruled over a vast territory for more than two hundred years. Already during the lifetime of Cyrus the Great in the mid-sixth century BCE the young empire reached a great size; the kingdoms of Media, Lydia and Babylonia were all absorbed into one rule. By the time of Dareios the Great the empire expanded almost in every direction. For the first time, people from the Levant, Egypt, Mesopotamia, the Aegean and central Asia were dominated by the same dynasty, creating a world empire of great cultural and ethnic diversity.

Asia Minor, occupying only a small portion of this large area, has also been known for its great diversity of geography, climate, and above all, *people* throughout its history. Probably, the climate and geography played a significant role in its cultural development and progress. Surrounded by the Aegean, Black Sea and the Mediterranean, and bordering northern Syria, Mesopotamia, Iran and Transcaucasia to the east, this land mass consisted of river valleys, high plateaus and mountain ranges. This multifarious physical geography was certainly the main reason for the preservation of a fragmented society throughout history. This geography should also remind any researcher that Anatolia was never a unified entity. Anatolian archaeology is simply a neat bag of rich components. The cultural landscape was fragmented, but its components were connected to one another.

The establishment of Greek settlements on the coastal areas is archaeologically documented and dates back to the late Bronze Age.[2] The Aeolian, Ionian and Dorian settlements already had a long history when Asia Minor became a part of the Achaemenid Empire. Asia Minor was home to others as well: Lykians, Karians, Mysians, Phrygians, Lydians, and Gauls, to name but a few. Some were the Iron Age newcomers, e.g., the Phrygians, some had links to the Bronze Age, e.g., the Lydians, and some arrived in the Hellenistic period, e.g., the Gauls. A traditional map based on the Roman period sources would show regions named after some of these groups as distinct from one another, even though the region as a whole was known as the province 'Asia'. Obviously, these smaller divisions were attestable in the Roman Empire.[3]

The takeover of the regional administrative centers by Alexander's generals, and the subsequent initiation of new administrative centers, the spread of *poleis*, and the use of Greek as the new administrative language may be seen as clear marks of detachment from the previous era. These are the

[2] Bryce 2011, 373–374; Lohmann 2004, 326–340; Mellink 1984.
[3] Mitchell 2001, 7, 170–181.

kinds of changes visible on the surface, but the effects of political changes on individuals are harder to pinpoint archaeologically. Any large-scale political change with its new administrative establishment and institutions would affect the lives of all individuals, no doubt, but its long-term impact on the identities of people might not have been straightforward enough to define in terms of one-way, top-down acculturation, for example, as follows:

> The hegemonic nature of Hellenic culture led to the gradual but inexorable homogenizing of the Anatolian cultural landscape along Greek patterns, a process greatly accelerated by the conquest and conscious Hellenizing of Alexander the Great, the rule of the Diadochoi, and the eventual absorption of the Pergamene and Seleucid kingdoms by the Romans, who completed the process of bringing most of Anatolia into the Greco-Roman cultural orbit.[4]

Was the cultural landscape really so homogenized? Does the root of the problem go back to unintentional generalizations in history itself? For example, in order to draw a distinction from the current situation of his time in the first century BCE, was Cicero simply reflecting a broad idea about the people of Phaselis, Lykia, as Greeks because they had established themselves long before the Romans and Macedonians and the Cilician pirates?[5] After all, the Lykians, whose language has been traced back to Luwian, with certain words surviving in Hellenized forms in Roman period inscriptions (Greek: Τροκονδας, Lykian: *Trqqñt-*, Hittite: *Tarḫunta-*), had been legitimized with a mythological Greek pedigree in the *Iliad*: Sarpedon and Glaukos, the latter Bellerophon's grandson who ran to the help of the Trojans.[6] In short, the heart of the matter is not what lies behind Cicero's words exactly, or the Luwian roots of the Lykians, or their presumed ancestry, but the complexity of issues concerning the social memory, collective past and multiple identities of people.

Against this background, I attempt to seek the markers of visual culture in western Asia Minor during Achaemenid rule by focusing on a powerful body of artifacts: the seals.

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[4] McMahon 2011, 16.

[5] Cic. *Verr.* 4.10.21: *Phaselis illa, quam cepit P. Servilius, non fuerat urbs antea Cilicum atque praedonum; Lycii illam, Graeci homines, incolebant. Sed quod erat eius modi loco atque ita proiecta in altum, ut et exeuntes e Cicilia praedones saepe ad eam necessario devenirent, et, cum se ex hisce locis reciperent, eodem deferrentur, adsciverunt sibi illud oppidum piratae primo commercio, deinde etiam societate.* Colvin 2004, 44.

[6] Hom. *Il.* 6.144–211. Houwink ten Cate 1965, 125–131; Colvin 2004, 45; Bryce 2011, 373; Melchert 2011, 708–709.

Case Study: A Selection of Seals from Western Asia Minor

Seals are eloquent artifacts. They were owned and used by men and women of different ranks: royalty, officials, administrators and the workforce; to put it simply, by anybody. They also belonged to offices and temples. In an age without digital media and digital transactions, seals and their impressions on clay served many functions: identification cards, authorization devices for payments and reimbursements, passes on roads, authentication and approval of an office and a higher authority, and locks for security. They were also worn as jewellery and amulets; they were items of prestige and gift exchange, an indicator of status in society. In each function seals were directly associated with the individuals who owned them, whether the ruler or the baker.

In the progress of Achaemenid Empire studies, seals, especially a large class referred to as 'Graeco-Persian', played a significant role in discussions about ethnocentricity in art historical research. A product of late 19th-century scholarship, the term 'Graeco-Persian',[7] used widely well into the 20th century,[8] is a good example of how a complex artistic and social involvement could be reduced into a narrow categorization that generated an array of misleading implications.[9] Based on style, the seal images were linked to the ethnicity of the artist, thus implying that the *style* of a representation and the *ethnicity/culture* of the artist could be one and the same. This was also an attempt to localize the workshops of large numbers of unprovenanced seals in the collections of museums. Recent research has demonstrated the significance of archaeological contexts of seals and their impressions on clay, e.g., bullae and tablets, and the interaction between the seal design and the text, when available. Margaret Root's pioneering work, the most recent of which focused on the seal impressions on Persepolis Fortification tablets, challenged the polarizing Graeco-Persian approach and laid out an analytical base to understand the polycultural aspects of the art in the empire in

[7] Furtwängler 1900, 116–125. To convey the conventional sentiment about non-Greek art at the turn of the 20th century I quote here Furtwängler 1900, 11: 'Die persischen Werke haben alle etwas Nüchternes, Knappes, Trockenes [...] Ein einziger Gedanke durchzieht diese Kunst: die Hoheit und Macht des Königs der Könige. Götter-und Heldensage giebt es nicht in dieser Kunst, die wenigen Typen von Gottheiten und Dämonen, die vorkommen, sind entlehnt. Der König ist eins und alles. Es ist das arische Wesen, das mit den Persern zur Herrschaft im Orient gelangt [...]'.

[8] Richter 1946; 1949; 1952; Boardman 1970a; 1970b, 19.

[9] Gates 2002 provides an excellent survey of the subject. See also Dusinberre 1997; Root 1991; 1994; 1997.

its social context.[10] As we recognize now, style alone, even though it is an important means of artistic expression, does not represent the whole notion of artistic production. It needs its archaeological components to be 'a social production and form of ideology'.[11] Only then style can become a powerful instrument in conveying individual expression and adopted group identity. In our case abandoning the questions of what is Greek and what is Persian, and seeing the so-called Graeco-Persian art through a multidimensional spectrum, has helped Achaemenid seal studies to reach their present state of research. In a hundred-year period the academic discourse has shown a significant change and this progress serves as a good model for other areas of research.

The bullae with seal impressions excavated in Daskyleion, the satrapal center in Hellespontine Phrygia, are archival and indicate the presence of Achaemenid administrative and economic activity in the area. They were attached to written documents, as shown by the high percentage of the fragments bearing papyrus fiber markings at the back. Like the Persepolis Fortification and Treasury tablets in the center of the Empire and the papyri documents of Arshama from Egypt record at regional levels, the perished documents of Daskyleion most likely recorded economic and administrative operations in and around the satrapal territory: records of goods incoming and outgoing, e.g., grain, livestock, timber, etc., related to the local warehouse/treasury and their management, the ratios and organization of the workforce and other related issues in the area within the imperial organization. As summarized above, the application of the seal on clay, that is, the materialization of the act of transaction, whether the image consisted of a simple stroke or an elaborate representation, transformed the entire process into a visually permanent state, whether the transaction was hauling grain from the warehouse or bringing in the fowl. The entire process of transaction was validated by the act of pressing/rolling the seal on the damp clay.

The seal impressions on the outer surfaces of the Daskyleion bullae provide a wealth of information about sealing practices and artistic styles. They represent scenes that have direct links to the styles and subjects known from the center of the empire, their adaptations, and images in classical Greek styles and subjects. The subject and style distribution of the entire corpus

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[10] Root 1979; 1991; Garrison and Root 2001.

[11] Hegmon 1992 with notes, provides a review of the theory of style in archaeology, and notes in conclusion the lack of synthetic perspective and integrated approach to style in archaeology.

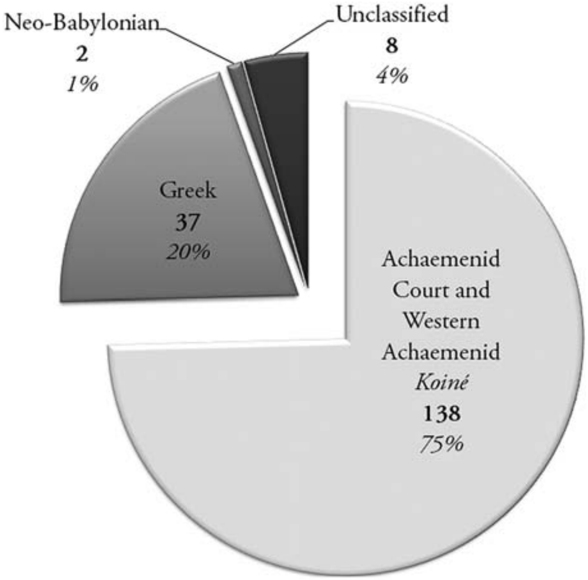

Fig. 2. Overview of Daskyleion seal Corpus: Style Distribution. © Deniz Kaptan.

demonstrates a rich variety used alongside each other. The graph (Fig. 2) shows broadly that the parties who carried out transactions through the satrapal center used seals that had predominantly Achaemenid *koine* and Greek styles. The western Achaemenid *koine* styles have a large number of subsets, and the boundaries among them are often vague.[12] Even though the textual components of the Daskyleion sealings have perished, we are fortunate to retrieve some epigraphic information from the inscriptions preserved on a few of them.[13] Below, I will briefly present a small selection from the inscribed seal impressions to demonstrate the social interplay between the inscription and the representation, and what we learn from this interplay about the individuals' place in the society.[14]

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[12] Kaptan 2002, vol. 1, 107–170. I use 'western Achaemenid *koine*' to cover the previously used terms 'Graeco-Persian' and 'Persianizing'.

[13] Three discrete seal images (*DS* 2–4) bear cuneiform inscriptions in Old Persian and Babylonian (Schmitt 2002, 194–197). Aramaic inscriptions survived on twelve seal designs (Röllig 2002, 198–210) and one bulla bears a fragmentary Greek inscription (Kaptan 2002, vol. 1, 173–174).

[14] An exhaustive iconographic discussion of any representation is beyond the scope of this paper.

The multiple impressions of three discrete cylinders, comprising more than half of the entire assemblage, bear the names of Xerxes and Artaxerxes inscribed in Old Persian and Babylonian cuneiform.[15] Based on the information provided by the Persepolis Fortification and Treasury tablets, we can suggest that the users of Daskyleion royal name seals were certain officials (probably a manager of the economic operations and a delivery man) carrying out routine operations in office.[16] These tasks would be disbursements and the generation of records for the distribution of goods to and from the satrapal warehouse. We do not know the names of these officials, but their active role in the transactions has been clearly indicated by the repetitive use of the cylinders bearing the name of the king.

The other inscriptions on the Daskyleion seal impressions are Aramaic and Greek. All the seal owners/users whose names were inscribed on the seal impressions were directly involved in the transactions of the satrapal center and could belong to any ethnic background that was present in the empire.[17] The only surviving Greek inscribed seal, *DS* 144, most probably bears a personal name like its Aramaic counterparts (Fig. 3). The preserved portion of the seal design shows the head of a stag and along the edge three letters of the inscription, possibly reading [Ἀρτί]μας, a name of dubious origin.[18] The name Artimas was inscribed on a number of artifacts from western Anatolia. The pedestal of a silver incense burner from the İkiztepe

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[15] Schmitt 2002. The designs of these scenes are well-known in Achaemenid iconography: Kaptan 2002, vol. 1, 28–40, 55–71.

[16] Garrison 1991, 13–21; Kuhrt 2010, 765–766. Some high officials could use their 'personal' seals in transactions (Garrison and Root 2001, nos. 22, 288, *PFS* 9*, *PFS* 16* carrying *Parnaka*'s name inscribed in Aramaic). It is not impossible to suggest that at least some of the Aramaic inscribed seals from Daskyleion might also have had office use since the practice is known elsewhere. The seal of Arshama bearing his personal name in Aramaic was used on some travel and disbursement documents.

[17] See the contributions in Briant, Henkelman, and Stolper 2008 for aspects of the Persepolis Fortification archive and Kuhrt 2010, 763–765, 784–785 for a summary of the use of different languages, inscriptions and diverse names on Persepolis tablets. Elamite and Old Persian were used most frequently on tablets. Some tablets show the gloss of Aramaic written in ink. Many of the seal legends are Aramaic. One tablet is noted to be in Greek (*PFT* 1771), and another in Phrygian (Brixhe 2004, 118–126). A high-ranking official is mentioned as from Ionia (*PFT* 1810, Garrison and Root 2001, no. 22), and some others appear as Indian, Skythian and Egyptian (Jones and Stolper 1986, 248–253). See also Maffre 2007a and 2007b on the onomastics of Hellespontine Phrygia.

[18] The variations of the name: Zgusta 1964, 662, nos. 86.4, 107.5, 108.1, 108.5, 108.8. Artimas, the Persian agent, (Λυδίας Ἀρτίμας, Xen. *An.* 7.8.25) is probably a spurious one (Briant 2002, 988). The possibility that the reading of the inscription would be associated with the island Samos is less likely (Kaptan 2002, vol. 1, 173).

Fig. 3. Daskyleion. Drawing of seal DS 144 (Kaptan 2002, pl. 389).

burial in Lydia bears a Lydian version of the name as *Artymalim* ('I am of Artimas').[19] It also appears on a rock-cut tomb façade bilingually in Greek and Aramaic in Limyra.[20] Whether it is a derivation from the Greek 'Artemis', or originates from another Anatolian name, or is Iranian in origin, this name seems to have been commonly used in western Asia Minor.[21] Its design, too, finds parallels in the empire, the most well-known of which is a three-figure composition with lions attacking a stag on the seal of Gobryas (*PFS* 857s) used on a Persepolis Fortification tablet (*PFT* 688) from the year 499 BCE.[22]

Another name, Elnap, Semitic in origin, on *DS* 76 is a familiar one in northwestern Anatolia:[23] the same name, albeit not necessarily of the same individual, appears on an Aramaic inscribed relief stele found near Daskyleion.[24] The partially preserved seal design shows a horseman in trousers, his horse in full gallop, in a widely used type, repeatedly seen on the seals of the

[19] Özgen and Öztürk 1996, 114–115 with Cat. no. 71; Gusmani 1983 (the inscription). A cylinder of western Achaemenid *koine* product of unknown provenance in the British Museum also bears the name in Aramaic (Boardman 1970a, Pl. 843).

[20] Lykia: Petersen and Luschan 1889, 69; Özgen and Öztürk 1996, 152; *TAM* II 551, l. 6; Colvin 2004, 73; Lemaire 2000.

[21] Colvin 2004, 60–61 for the Artemis derivatives in Anatolia. A false door from Daskyleion was also thought to have carried the name in its Aramaic inscription (Atheim-Stiehl and Cremer 1985, 6–7; Nollé 1992, 119). The recent study of the inscription, however, has rejected the previous transliteration (Lemaire 2001, 26–29).

[22] Kaptan 2002, vol. 1, 173–174. The discussion of the seal of Gobryas: Root 1991 and Gates 2002.

[23] Kaptan 2002, vol. 1, 146–148; vol. 2, 100, Pls. 232–233; Röllig 2002, 209.

[24] Istanbul Archaeological Museums no. 5764. Nollé 1992, 11–16 (Stele no. 1); Brixhe 2004, 74; Maffre 2007b, 228–229.

Fig. 4. Daskyleion. Seal Impression and drawing of DS 112 (Kaptan 2002, pls. 322 323).

period. However, with the addition of the personal name, like *DS* 144 noted above, the scene transforms into a personalized image. Similarly, an Iranian name could appear on a seal that does not necessarily represent an 'Iranian' image, whatever that would mean in the Graeco-Persian scholarship, or a Greek style seal image may turn up on a cuneiform inscribed tablet from the heartland of the empire. The seal of Zāta-vahyah, *DS* 112, demonstrates this perspective quite well (Fig. 4). The original seal was a stamp, probably a conoid with a seal face not exceeding 1.5 cm. It shows a densely composed image: a long-legged heron about to take flight, with wings slightly spread, and a small image of a hippocamp over the crest of the bird. The name Zāta-vahyah was inscribed on the left along the seal edge. According to Wolfgang Röllig's analysis this is a name of Iranian origin.[25] The representation belongs to a group of seals in the Daskyleion corpus which represents a variety of birds and groups of wild animals shown in naturalistic settings, as if their models came from a nature reserve, and fits comfortably into the western Anatolian/Aegean artistic milieu.[26] This group is also tightly connected to a wider category of Achaemenid seals that use hunting and battle as primary themes.[27] With its Aramaic inscription the seal image obtains additional substance: an Iranian name which presumably belonged

25 Röllig 2002, 207, 209.

26 Kaptan 2002, vol. 1, 158–165. The artistic style of this group closely parallels works by Dexamenos who signed one of his scaraboids as 'Dexamenos of Chios' (Boardman 1970a, pl. 468).

27 On the iconography of hunt and battle on seals from western Anatolia see Kaptan 2002; 2003; 2010 with notes; Ma 2008.

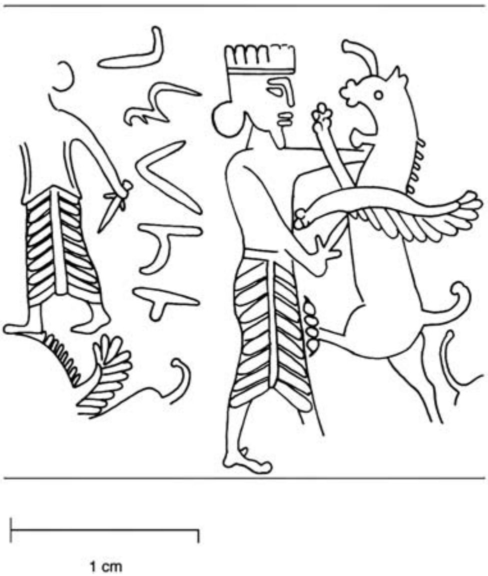

Fig. 5. Daskyleion. Drawing of seal DS 18 (Kaptan 2002, pl. 96).

to the proprietor of the seal. Even though the representation remains the same, it is still a bird, and a hippocamp, together with the inscription it becomes more universal. The image as a whole stands for an individual whose name is associated with a non-Anatolian background. It belongs now to a wider world that is not limited to western Anatolia. In the same vein, the image on *DS* 18 (Fig. 5) adapts a well-known type in Achaemenid iconography, the Persian hero battling the winged lion-monster; like the representation on the royal name seal *DS* 3, it also displays an Aramaic inscription. Wolfgang Röllig suggests two readings for the inscription: i) *l-sgry* (belonging to Sagari), and ii) *l-sgdy* (belonging to Sogdian).[28] If we follow the first reading, the seal owner has a name of Iranian origin that is relatively familiar, attested at least on another inscription from Cappadocia (in Greek as Σαγάριος).[29] If we accept the second reading, Sogdian, the owner may show links, perhaps in his family history, to the far reaches of the empire: Sogdiana in the distant northeast. Either way, whether it reads Sagari or Sogdian, the seal belongs to the domain of the Achaemenid Empire

[28] Röllig 2002, 199–200, 209–210.
[29] Farasa, Cappadocia, *KAI* 265 (Röllig 2002, 200). See also Lemaire 2001, 33.

i) by its function and archaeological context,
ii) by its representation, and
iii) by its inscription.

This onomastic behavior and artistic operative observed in Hellespontine Phrygia which may look heterogeneous on the surface, in fact converge quite sensibly. These are products that reflect a certain degree of Achaemenid identity on the part of the individuals who used them. On this subject we could move one step further, perhaps radically, by looking at a 'purely' Greek-style seal image, such as *DS* 160, showing two warriors, one victorious and one defeated, fitting into the Greek artistic milieu by style and *realia*, e.g., Attic-type helmets, semi- and completely nude bodies (Fig. 6). Although the representation signals *no* 'Achaemenid' elements visually, by function and archaeological context it belongs to the Achaemenid world, not very different from *DS* 18: they share the same social context. If the seal, probably a scaraboid, that generated the clay impression survived and was removed from its archaeological context, its social associations would be completely absent, as for example in the accession entry of any museum. Jennifer Gates's 2002 study highlighted the occurrence of multiple seal impressions on a single label and their appearance again in the company of other sealings in Persepolis.[30] The clusters show that there was no limitation to style and subject; *PTS* 5*, a royal name seal in Court style, for example, was clustered with stamps in Greek styles.

If we view the entire Daskyleion seal corpus as represented by single cluster we see a comparable pattern, in which the bullae with visually different images share the same function and social context. I will conclude this section with one last seal image, *DS* 177, representing the head of a slightly balding man, lean-faced with a prominent nose, short beard and a mustache (Fig. 7).[31] There are many ways of seeing this image. It can be viewed artistically as a 'Nachfolger' of the famous representation on a scaraboid by Dexamenos of Chios in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston,[32] and akin to the chiseled 'portraits' on a dark limestone fragment of the foot of a royal figure in Persepolis.[33] It can also be associated with the satrapal coinage, in particular with those known as 'tiarate heads'.[34] In fact, all these visual

30 Gates 2002, 125–126.
31 Kaptan 2002, vol. 1, 189–193.
32 Boardman 1970a, pl. 466 (noted to be from Attica).
33 Herzfeld 1941, 251; Schmidt 1953, 222; Nylander and Flemberg 1981–1983, 61–64.
34 Kaptan 2002, vol. 1, 191–193; Dusinberre 2002. See also Hölscher 1973, 207–214.

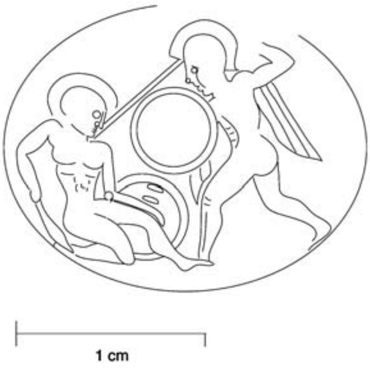

Fig. 6. Daskyleion. Drawing of seal DS 160. (Kaptan 2002, pl. 421).

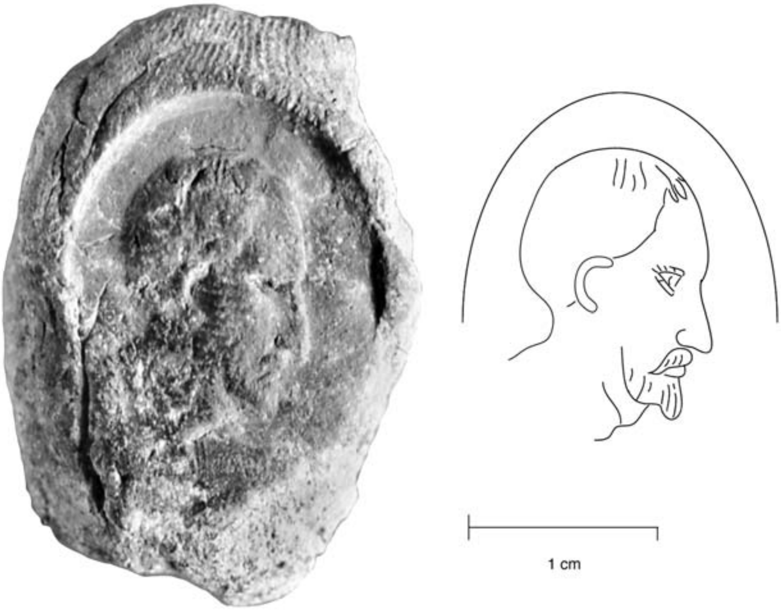

Fig. 7. Daskyleion. Seal Impression and drawing of DS 177 (Kaptan 2002, pls. 456–457).

associations above are interwoven with one another and establish links to the components behind the portrait on *DS* 177, and ultimately to Hellenistic ruler portraiture later in history. As Margaret Root notes '[…] some elements of the concept of portraiture were in fact bred of the still elusive Graeco-Persian *koine* in the western Achaemenid Empire. I think, for instance, of the marvelous coin portraits of western satraps. These satrapal coins are not "Achaemenid art" in the very restricted sense of the official court art of the Achaemenid king. But they are most definitely examples of the art of the Persian Empire'.[35] The satrapal coinage that emerged in Asia Minor was the outcome of a fascinating development, a result of the political and economic dynamic in the Achaemenid Empire that evolved over a two-hundred-year period. As stated above, the representations of satrapal heads are very likely the force behind the ruler portraits of the Hellenistic period, some of which notably appear on seal impressions from archival contexts.[36] In this respect *DS* 177 elegantly contributes to the material evidence for this development from an excavated site in northwestern Anatolia.

Artists and Craftsmen in the Regional Courts: Western Anatolia

The Achaemenid court and court society, court etiquette, and their replication at the regional level by satraps and local elite, have attracted the increased attention of researchers recently.[37] Because the Achaemenid

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[35] Root 1994, 19. See also Jacobs 2002 on the concept of 'art' in the Achaemenid Empire. The royal coinage (the archer coins) cannot be separated from the satrapal coinage. The imagery of the archer coins which had deeply-rooted Near Eastern artistic traditions behind it, displayed a manifestation of imperial power (Root 1989). The message of this image conveyed the physical and military power of the king who in his crown and Achaemenid court robe would deliver the visual message: this was the image of the king, the dynastic representative (Root 1991, 17).

[36] Other than a small archive recently excavated in Aizanoi, Phrygia (Berges 2010), western Asia Minor has thus not yielded seal impressions used for archival purposes from the Hellenistic period. Outside of western Anatolia among the recently excavated sites that yielded material evidence for Hellenistic archives, Tel Kedesh in Israel stands out as a notable settlement for providing two archives that produced bullae with seal impressions, the Hellenistic archive succeeding the Achaemenid predecessor (Berlin and Herbert 2003; Ariel and Naveh 2003), the seal record of which shows a high number of 'portraits' on the seal designs (Herbert 2003–2004, fig. 4). Major Hellenistic-period archives are known in the following locations: Artaxata, Delos, Carthage, Cyrene, Edfu, Elephantine, Gitana, Kallion, Kedesh, Nea Paphos, Pella, Seleukeia on the Tigris, Selinous, Uruk, and Zeugma. See Herbert 2003–2004 and the papers in Boussac and Invernizzi 1996 for an overview of these archives.

[37] Most recently Brosius 2011; Tuplin 2011a; Jacobs and Rollinger 2010; Spawforth 2007.

dynasty alone controlled a vast territory, there was no notable challenge posed by any other monarchy, but this did not leave competition out of the scene. There was a great deal of competition among the regional administrators in attempting to replicate the royal court, and demonstrate loyalty to the king.[38] As Amélie Kuhrt notes, 'the remarkable fidelity of the aristocracy was the backbone of the empire'.[39] The popularity of artworks from Anatolia glorifying Achaemenid victories, as well as elaborate hunting scenes, courtly representations and audience scenes, was most probably closely knit with the notion of loyalty and competition, albeit indirectly, among the regional administrators and the local elite. The wall painting from Elmalı-Karaburun burial in northern Lykia showing a banqueting dignitary,[40] either an Iranian or a local dynast in Achaemenid looking guise, is one of the best examples of this notion. The sculptural decoration on the Nereid monument, especially the audience scene, and the procession scene at a palatial structure at Meydancikkale, Cilicia,[41] reminiscent of the Persepolis reliefs, show the same effort by the local elite and Persian aristocrats in close association with the Achaemenid court in Iran. Serving as emblems of social status and prestige in the empire, as well as reflections of loyalty, these representations have also borne some tinge of competition among the elite to be 'in compliance with the Achaemenid power'. Representations of Achaemenid victory over enemies as displayed by paintings on the wooden beams of the Tatarlı burial in Phrygia[42] and the Çan sarcophagus,[43] in disparate artistic styles, show the major figures in the representations as Achaemenid by association, as signified by attire, *realia* and the entire setting of the representations.

The significance of archaeological context becomes evident again in the meticulous work of the editors of the Lydian Treasure as they traced back the origins of more than two hundred artifacts consisting of metal vessels, jewellery, seals and wall painting fragments that had been robbed from tumulus burials around the Uşak-Güre area. They note that many of the artifacts which reflected a combination of traditions, Phrygian, Lydian and Greek with Achaemenid affinities, pose ambiguity in their cultural iden-

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38 Kuhrt 2010, 615–620 for references to the sources.

39 Kuhrt 2010, 623.

40 Mellink 1972; 1973; S.G. Miller 2010, 323–329. Jacobs 1987, 29–32 argues that this individual was a Persian, not a local dynast.

41 Davesne and Laroche-Traunecker 1998.

42 Summerer 2007; Summerer and von Kienlin 2010.

43 Rose 2007; Sevinç et al. 2001.

tity.[44] Focusing on the Achaemenid period toreutics, including those from the Lydian Treasure, Margaret Miller discussed aspects of regional production, and noted syntactical errors in the decorations of the bowls regarding Achaemenid motifs, best illustrated by a repoussé silver bowl from the İkiztepe burial (Fig. 8 and 9).[45] Some of the most emblematic symbols of Achaemenid power, the winged disk and ibex protomes, were placed on the bowl in the wrong order: the ibex sits on the winged disk, an arrangement that would look very strange to a native Persian of the time, but obviously neither the skilled craftsman nor the wealthy, presumably non-Iranian, owner was aware of the semantics of the winged disk. To them the bowl seems to have looked sufficiently Achaemenid.

Elspeth Dusinberre's innovative study of the Achaemenid period bowls from Sardeis is also important in discussions of identifying the Achaemenid impact on society. As an adaptation of the Achaemenid metal original, the deep bowl was a very popular type in pottery: nearly every excavation site in western Anatolia has yielded this particular type. Noting the rich variety and widespread availability of the type Dusinberre suggests that there was a change in the drinking habit of the elite in Achaemenid Sardeis.[46] This is certainly a thought-provoking argument. The central representation of the Elmalı-Karaburun painting in fact illustrates how ostentatiously the bowl could rest on the fingertips, even if it is not the typical deep Achaemenid bowl with everted rim.[47]For the permanent visualization of all the adopted identities, the courts needed artists. The Lydian Treasure contains a number of punches which must have belonged to a craftsman, most probably a jeweller.[48] Thanks to the sphragistic and textual evidence from the Persepolis Fortification and Treasury tablets, we are familiar with the workforce in the household of the royal elite in the center of the empire. Some of the 'workers' listed in Persepolis texts must have been specialized craftsmen and artists.[49] Tremendously revealing material providing evidence about the presence of artists in regional courts outside of Iranian heartland is also coming to light. Recent research on the Arshama letters from Egypt has so far

44 Özgen and Öztürk 1996, 54–64.
45 M.C. Miller 2007, 43–72; 2010, 858–860.
46 Dusinberre 1999; 2003, 172–195; Simpson 2005, 109.
47 Özgen and Öztürk 1996, figs. 88–89; S.G. Miller 2010, 329.
48 Özgen and Öztürk 1996, 211–230; Kaptan 2007, 279.
49 Specialist craftsmen/workers (*kurtaš / garda- / gardu / GRD*) are listed in Persepolis texts, e.g., *PFT* 1028, Irdabama's workforce at Shiraz bearing *PFS* 36* (Garrison and Root 2001, no. 5); *PFT* 1797 (Garrison and Root 2001, no. 49); Kuhrt 2010, 601–602, 627–628.

Fig. 8. Detail from a silver bowl from İkiztepe (Özgen and Öztürk 1996, 89, no. 35. Courtesy of İ. Özgen).

Fig. 9. Silver bowl from İkiztepe (Özgen and Öztürk 1996, 89, no. 35. Courtesy of İ. Özgen).

provided significant information about artist and patron mandates and artist employment in the regional courts of the Achaemenid Empire.[50] The text of A6.12 about Arshama, the satrap in Egypt in the fifth century BCE, authorizing rations for an artist at his service is an extremely important document.[51] The letter refers to a certain Hinzani, an artist who worked for Arshama.[52] Many significant points emerge from this letter: i) Arshama employed an artist at his local court in Egypt, ii) this artist traveled under Arshama's authorization, iii) his work was in demand, iv) he was brought to Susa to produce works, and v) his name, Hinzani, means 'the man from Hinzanu/Hindanu', a region at the middle Euphrates, indicating a Mesopotamian origin.[53] This piece of evidence clearly shows a cosmopolitan environment where an artist with a Mesopotamian name in the household of an Iranian governor in Egypt also produced works in other places including Susa. Because he worked in Egypt one does not necessarily assume that his work followed Egyptian artistic norms. Persepolis texts often make references to various kinds of workers, some with special skills. The Arshama letter supplements the information provided by the center of the empire directly from a satrapal court.

I should note that Arshama and Hinzani's patron-employee/servant-relationship was not an isolated case in the empire. The document is fascinating because it provides access to the complex socio-economic landscape and the artistic environment fostered in the household of a high-ranking Achaemenid official in a province of the empire. Contract texts from Achaemenid-period Babylonia also present rich information about artists, masters and their craft. A cuneiform tablet in the British Museum (325. Cyr. 8.12.16) dated to the reign of Cyrus is a contract regarding the wealthy Egibi family, which for many generations carried out business in Uruk, mainly on real estate. The tablet documents Itti-Marduk-balātu's agreement

50 Tuplin 2011b; Ma and Tuplin forthcoming.

51 Driver 1957, no. 9; Porten and Yardeni 1986–1999, 120.

52 Hinzani's exact craft has been debated: Porten and Yardeni 1986–1999, 120 use 'artist' and his work 'statues', (*ptkrkr/bdkryn*): Röllig, in Kaptan 2007, 278 with n. 8 commented the reading is 'producer of images'. The suggestion that Hinzani was a seal engraver for the popularity of horseman representations specifically in Achaemenid glyptic does not have much support because, as noted, the wording in the text does not relate to *pa/urkullu*, 'seal engraver'. The frequent representation of horse and rider in glyptic, which was also attractive to the present writer previously (Kaptan 2007, 278), should not be a limiting factor. It is possible that he was an artist of large-scale works, possibly a sculptor. See most recent discussions on this text: Ma and Tuplin forthcoming.

53 Röllig, in Kaptan 2007, 278 with n. 7.

to send a household slave for apprenticeship for four years.[54] This slave was entrusted to a certain Hašdaj, a master seal carver who himself was a slave of Cambyses, then a crown prince in Babylonia. These few significant pieces of textual evidence from two large provinces of the empire, Egypt and Babylonia, provide details of artistic patronage, training and mobility.[55]

In the empire the high-ranking positions were held by the Achaemenid clan, but royal favor was not only limited to the members of the Achaemenid family and the Persians.[56] There were always some 'advisors' and 'local rulers' who were not Persians. References to such 'advisors' and appointments to some high positions and intermarriages in the Graeco-Roman sources are plentiful.[57] Epigraphic sources are also available. For instance a funerary inscription from Sidon refers to the king rewarding Eshmunazar, the ruler of Sidon,[58] and Babylonian documents refer to a Siha and Belshunu as *ahšadrapanu*, a very high position though not necessarily at the rank of a satrap.[59] Similarly, the members of the Hekatomnid family were appointed as local governors in southwestern Asia Minor, mainly during the fourth century BCE.[60] This was also the time when monumental architecture thrived in western Asia Minor, a movement often referred to as the Ionian Renaissance.[61] With its well-preserved *andrones* and religious structures, Labraunda, the Karian sanctuary of Zeus Labrandeus, demonstrates the

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[54] To my knowledge there is no recent edition of the text other than Strassmaier 1890. I quote the translation by L. Oppenheim in Porada 1968, 145 with n. 25: 'Itti-Marduk-balātu, son of Nabû-ehhē-iddin of the family Egibi gave his slave Guzu-ina-Bēl-asbat to Hašdaj, the *purkullu*, a slave of Cambyses, the crown prince, for five years, to [learn] the craft of the *purkullu*. x x x [the copy has *ardāni šá x* which is senseless in the context]. He will teach him the entire craft of the *purkullu*. Itti-Marduk-balātu will clothe Guzu-ina-Bēl-asbat with one [? correct senseless *DI* in line g into *I-it*] *muṣiptu*-garment. If Hašdaj does not teach him, he pays 20 minas of silver. After he has taught him for five years [restored from *TuM* 2–3, 214, 8–9] [his (the apprentice) wages will be ...] [witnesses] ...'. I am grateful to Dr. Heather Baker for checking Oppenheimer's translation and pointing out the apprenticeship period as four years not five (personal communication December 25, 2010). Hackl 2010, 710 with table 111, notes the masters are predominantly freemen, but occasionally slave status is also attested in the Babylonian documents.

[55] On artistic mobility see Zaccagnini 1983.

[56] Wiesehöfer 1980; Kuhrt 2010, 620–622.

[57] To name a few: Demaratos and Themistokles (Whitby 1998; Kaptan 2010, 838); Mentor and Memnon (Diod. Sic. 16.52.3–4). See also Hdt. 8.67.2–68.1 on Xerxes consulting with the king of the Sidonians first before Salamis.

[58] Briant 2002, 490; Kuhrt 2010, 663–665.

[59] Kuhrt 2010, 881, table 3 with n. 4.

[60] Jacobs 1994, 136–137.

[61] Isager 1994; Pedersen 2011. See Gunter 1985 for Labraunda and Hekatomnid patronage.

extent of this movement impressively. If the artistic progress under the Hekatomnids in Karia is evaluated within the entire socio-economic context of the Achaemenid system, the involvement of the Greek artists/architects, Pytheos or Satyros, in the construction of the Maussolleion would find earlier parallels, for example in Egypt with that of Hinzani. In both cases the artists with diverse backgrounds were in the service of the elite. With his long, unkempt hair, full lips, wide cheekbones, carefully trimmed mustache and beard, the free-standing colossal figure from Halikarnassos in the British Museum, which probably represented a generic Karian, perhaps an ancestor of Maussollos (or even Maussollos himself, as Charles Newton thought), reflects the artistic dynamics in Asia Minor and the region's close contacts with the wider world.[62] So do many of the Daskyleion seal images, for example the seal impression showing the head of a man, discussed above (*DS* 177, Fig. 7). Essentially, they all belong to the rich cultural landscape that evolved in the Achaemenid Empire. In a recent paper, Poul Pedersen commented that during the fourth century BCE, when Maussollos' ambitious construction program took place in Labraunda and Halikarnassos, there was a broader renaissance notable in Asia Minor, and that became a major source for artists and intellectuals of Ptolemaic Alexandria.[63]

Concluding Notes

The primary focus of archaeology is the study of material evidence. The discipline, especially classical archaeology, stems from a long tradition of interpreting types of artifacts, and analyzing styles of representations to identify cultural markers of specific groups, including the ethnicity or even wider cultural categorizations. In the process of interpretation, archaeologists have often fallen victim to the influence of their own cultural environment, analogical reasoning and preconceived observation. The problems of this approach have been discussed particularly in the second half of the 20th century, and more intensively in the 1990s.[64] Tracking down the collective identities and cultural attributes of people by solely using artifacts is a

[62] Jeppesen 2002, 173–182; Waywell 1978, 81–82. estimates large numbers of craftsmen working on the sculptures in the round. Research suggests that there were about 36 such colossal statues standing in the peristyle of the Maussolleion, each representing a Hekatomnid ancestor.

[63] Pedersen 2011.

[64] Binford 1965; 1983; Renfrew 1984, 54–77, 309–330; O'Brien and Lyman 2003, 12–32.

difficult task.[65] It may even be considered Sisyphean. Using anthropological methods together with textual sources when available can be instrumental in tackling these problems.

In the 1960s the anthropologist Fredrik Barth introduced the concept of 'self-ascription' whereby people chose to utilize a few cultural attributes that would illustrate their identity.[66] In his view ethnicity is about labeling. The attributes could be 'dress, language, house-form' or a general style of life. It is either the group itself or others who first create the boundaries between themselves. The marker of an ethnic group could be language or religion or a common past/shared descent to connect people with a certain identity. These variables also allow for the possibility of creating multiple ethnic identities. The idea of a common past/shared descent is often pure invention, but it is a politically effective invention. A common descent could be based on an assumption that there would be narratives of origin, public narrative and personal biographies, migration and suffering.[67] Another step in the invention of identity would be adapting to a new current political situation, even participating in it. This process in particular appears to work well for the elites of a society when a new ruling power dominates.[68] By creating a social imaginary in compliance with the new political situation, the elites of a newly conquered land could preserve their status quo, benefit from the new establishment and gain further advantages.

The representations on the select group of seals presented above have demonstrated the seal owners' tendencies to associate themselves within the larger world of the Achaemenid Empire. If Artimas and Zāta-vahyah, the owners of *DS* 144 and *DS* 112 (Fig. 2–3), both lived in northwestern Asia Minor in the fifth century BCE was their perception of the world widely different from one another because their names indicated different ethnic backgrounds, hence different cultures? We do not have any means to test their cognitive abilities or to understand their cultural psychology. Richard Nisbett, in his significant work on culture and cognition, demonstrates through laboratory experiments that people from different cultures do not think and perceive/see the same even if they have been given the same images.[69]

65 E.g., Strobel 2009 who argues on the difficulty of tracking down the material culture of the Galatians in central Anatolia if the Graeco-Roman literary sources were absent. See also van der Spek 2009 on Babylonians.

66 Barth 1969, 14–38.

67 Keyes 1976.

68 Barfield 2001, 29–30. See also Sinopoli 1994, 163, 166–172.

69 Nisbett 2004.

But cognitive modifiability is possible. One of the studies by Nisbett's team focused on bicultural people. Their findings suggest that such people 'do not merely have values and beliefs that are intermediate between two cultures, but that their cognitive process can be intermediate, as well—or at least they can alternate between forms of reasoning characteristic of one culture versus another'.[70] The results of Nisbett and his research group's studies also show possibilities of convergence when individuals of different cultures find attractions in each other's cultures. In short, there is evidence that cognitive processes can be modified when changes in social practices can alter the way people perceive and think. Looking back into history, and the available documentation briefly discussed above, we may suggest that at some level there was a *convergence* among cultures in the Achaemenid Empire.

The Achaemenid Empire was the connector of a fragmented cultural landscape in Asia Minor. Without that universal background there would be no Hellenistic art and culture although after a few generations the Achaemenids were mostly forgotten in the cities of Asia Minor. It would be proper to conclude with the following quote from Charles Taylor: 'The social imaginary is not a set of ideas; rather, it is what enables, through making sense of, the practices of a society'.[71]

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[70] Nisbett 2004, 226–228.

[71] Taylor 2004, 2.

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THE IMAGE OF THE CITY IN HELLENISTIC BABYLONIA*

Heather D. Baker

Introduction

This paper addresses aspects of the self-representation of the city and the urban élite in Hellenistic Babylonia. The focus is on the southern Babylonian city of Uruk, which (like Babylon) is rather well documented both textually and archaeologically. With regard to Babylonia, the old model of an entirely directed, 'top down' imposition of Hellenization has long been questioned, and as Sherwin-White and Kuhrt have noted,[1] the support of chosen members of local élites was crucial in enabling Seleukos I and Antiochos I to create an effective 'home-base' for themselves there. The precise mechanisms by which these local élites were co-opted remain to be explored in detail. Thus, one of the key issues to be considered here is how and to what extent the local élite was integrated into the imperial administration, and especially into Seleukid court society.[2] It is clear that developments in this respect have also to be viewed in the longer-term perspective of the adjustments which followed on from Babylonia's transition from an empire centred on Babylon and ruled by a native Babylonian dynasty to a land ruled from outside, following the conquests first by the Persian king Cyrus in 539 BCE and then by Alexander in 331. However, these longer-term developments in Uruk are the subject of another study,[3] so for the present we may focus more narrowly on the Seleukid-period governing class and its relationship with the local community and with the imperial centre.

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1 Sherwin-White and Kuhrt 1993, 186.

2 This same issue has been treated recently by Monerie (2012), albeit from a different perspective and with a focus on administration.

3 Baker forthcoming.

Traditional accounts have tended to emphasise the role of the urban élite—that is, those ancient and venerable local families whose members dominated the upper echelons of the temple administration and priesthood as well as the learned professions and the civic administration—in ensuring the continuity of Babylonian culture and institutions. Although the 'top-down' model mentioned above has long been superseded, there remains a tendency to over-emphasise this aspect—the impetus for cultural continuity—and, in doing so, to neglect some of the innovative measures taken by members of the local élite in order to accommodate themselves to the new regime. The intention here is to redress the balance somewhat by examining some hitherto less well-explored facets of the relationship between the local Urukean élite and the Seleukid court and administration. To this end we shall address three main themes: the phenomenon of élite burials, the royal sponsorship of temples, and the use of writing.

Élite Burials in Uruk

In examining the issue of the integration of the local élite within the imperial system in general and within Seleukid court society in particular,[4] it is essential to consider in greater detail the question of the Macedonian-style burials located near to Uruk. We are dealing with a group of three tumuli, comprising a larger, unexcavated one, Nufēǧi, and two smaller mounds, Frehat en-Nufēǧi, which have both been excavated. These latter two tumuli had previously been dated either in the Sasanian period or in the 1st century CE, but Pedde has shown conclusively on the basis of the objects found in the two smaller mounds that a date in the third century BCE is indicated.[5] In line with this revised dating, he suggested that possible candidates for the occupants of the two mounds were Anu-uballiṭ, also known as Nikarchos, and Anu-uballiṭ, also known as Kephalon. These were high-ranking men of local Babylonian extraction who bore alternative Greek names.[6] While Pedde's suggestion to identify these two men as among the occupants of the burial tumuli has been commented upon in brief by other scholars,[7] the full implications of his identification have not been followed through by historians. If

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[4] For a discussion of Hellenistic court society at this period see Strootman 2011.

[5] Pedde 1991, 1995.

[6] See Doty 1988 (on both Nikarchos and Kephalon); Boiy 2005 (on the family of Nikarchos, focusing on his descendants); Monerie 2012 (presenting a detailed treatment of Kephalon's family, incorporating some new evidence).

[7] E.g. Petrie 2002, 104–105.

it is correct, then it implies that Nikarchos and Kephalon styled themselves as more than high officials, in fact rather as local rulers:[8] they rejected local traditional burial customs and imitated a court style of burial, thus distancing themselves from their own community and aligning themselves more closely with that of the imperial élite.[9] Interestingly, while the actual burials and their contents apparently reflect prevailing Greek élite customs, the physical form of the monuments themselves does not represent the burial style of the Seleukid rulers but rather evokes the Macedonian origins of their dynasty, especially the royal burial mounds at Aigai (mod. Vergina).[10] This may have been a deliberate choice since Seleukid royal burial practice involved veneration of the deceased ruler within the cultic structure housing his remains;[11] perhaps no member of the Babylonian nobility would have gone so far as to claim this privilege for himself. Moreover, this particular form of monument afforded a significant opportunity to display the prestige of the deceased (and their family): the tumuli were strategically located to the north of the city, right by a major watercourse,[12] and with their

8 Pedde himself styles these men as local rulers: 'Es darf vermutet werden, daß es sich bei den Frehat en-Nufeği-Tumuli um die Grabanlagen dieser lokalen Herrscher handeln könnte, und auch der viel größere, bisher noch nicht ausgegrabene Hügel Nufeği könnte vielleicht der Grabtumulus eines seleukidenzeitlichen Herrschers von Uruk sein' (Pedde 1991, 535). Kose (1998, 21–22) adopts a similar position, assuming that the buried individuals were inhabitants of Uruk who emulated the practices of the Macedonian élite. However, he expresses doubts about the possibility of identifying either of the occupants of the two smaller tumuli with Nikarchos or Kephalon, considering their known date ranges to be somewhat too late for the date of the burials. Nikarchos is attested c. 244–214 BCE (Doty 1988, 115), and Kephalon c. 202–182 BCE (Doty 1988, 113; Monerie 2012, 339), so the matter rests upon whether the items from the grave inventories to which Pedde assigns a date in the late fourth or third century BCE could have been in use still in the late third or even the early second century.

9 See Strootman 2011, 66 on the adoption by provincial leading families of a double identity 'as an expression of allegiance and a means of distancing themselves from those excluded from power'. He highlights the limited, non-national character of the Seleukid and Ptolemaic courts, as well as the formation of supranational, 'horizontal' élite networks (p. 70).

10 See Andronicos 1984. The identity of the occupants of the three main tombs at Vergina continues to be debated, e.g. Borza and Palagia 2007; Hatzopoulos 2008.

11 Little in general is known about Seleukid royal funerary practices but they seem to have involved the use of a temenos to house the remains of deceased rulers, in particular the Nikatoreion at Seleukeia Pieria; see Canepa 2010, 7–10. On the question of whether or not there was any Hellenistic ruler cult practised in Babylonia, see most recently Linssen 2004, 124–128; he does not exclude the possibility of such a local cult at Uruk, but the evidence is not compelling.

12 For the location see Kose 1998, 15, fig. 5. As he notes, the watercourse is to be identified with the King's Canal (*nār šarri*), a former branch of the Euphrates (Shatt al-Nil) which flowed to the city from the north and then followed the city wall on the eastern side (Kose 1998, 14, fig. 4 and p. 21).

distinctive man-made profile rising out of the flat terrain, quite different from the usual landscape of weathered mounds and occupation sites, they would have imparted a powerful visual statement to anyone approaching the city by water from the Babylonian heartland. As Petrie cautioned,[13] the identification of the graves' occupants with Nikarchos and Kephalon remains a 'tantalising speculation'. But even if it is not correct, the very existence of these burial mounds with their distinctive construction and contents nevertheless indicates that there were individuals active in Uruk with the status as well as the motivation and means to commemorate their demise in this way.[14] In fact, to my mind the difficulty of extracting other likely candidates from the extant historical record is a compelling (albeit not conclusive) argument in favour of Pedde's suggestion.[15]

The two excavated burials contained clear evidence for 'the adoption of recognisable Greek/Hellenistic symbols of power by certain individuals'.[16] The various grave goods, including golden crowns, iron strigils covered with gold leaf, handled wine amphorae, and the silver coatings from the legs of a banqueting couch, have parallels with items found as far afield as Vergina, Failaka, Nisa, Salamis (on Cyprus) and Aï Khanoum in Bactria.[17] We have no way of knowing whether these individuals had the opportunity to attend the Seleukid court in person, although presumably there would have been an opportunity to do so when the ruler visited Babylonia, and it is quite possible that the Greek name Nikarchos, which is said to have been given to Anu-uballiṭ by Antiochos,[18] was conferred in person. In any case,

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[13] Petrie 2002, 105.

[14] The labour involved in constructing the burial mounds was not inconsiderable; Falkenstein (1959, 35) calculated that c. 6550 m^3 of earth was involved in creating the western tumulus.

[15] Van Ess (1998–2001, 609) notes the alternative possibility that the occupants were members of the Greek ruling class. This cannot be excluded, though it should be noted that no trace of any local branch of the Seleukid court is visible in the Urukean documentation (although that could of course be attributed to the fact that we are dealing predominantly with cuneiform tablets). The identification of Nikarchos and Kephalon as possible inhabitants of the two smaller tumuli of course leaves open the question of who might have been buried in the significantly larger nearby mound of Nufeği, assuming that it served the same function. It cannot be ruled out that one of the duo was the occupant of the large tumulus and the other was buried in one of the smaller mounds; in either scenario, we lack a plausible candidate for the third mound on the present state of the evidence.

[16] Petrie 2002, 105.

[17] See Pedde 1991 and 1995 for further details.

[18] According to a building inscription from the Rēš, which reads as follows: 'Nisannu, year 68, Seleukos (being) king: Anu-uballiṭ, son of Anu-ikṣur, descendant of Aḫ'ûtu, the city administrator (šaknu) of Uruk—to whom Antiochos, king of the lands, gave his second name,

if Nikarchos and/or Kephalon (or other members of the native Babylonian aristocracy) were among the occupants of the burials, then this implies that they had sufficient contact with members of the Seleukid élite to be able effectively to emulate court style, albeit in a somewhat antiquated fashion,[19] and they were also able to gain privileged access to the luxury items that their participation in élite culture entailed. In doing so they appropriated a share in the social space of the Seleukid court.

The precise mechanism by which this burial form came to be implanted into the Babylonian setting cannot be reconstructed, given the nature of the surviving evidence. It seems to me that the degree of specialist knowledge-transfer that the burial mounds represent implies not only a degree of contact with members of the Seleukid élite, as discussed above, but also the direct participation of craftsmen and/or supervisory personnel who had some first-hand familiarity with the actual construction techniques. That is, it seems unlikely that the burial mounds and their fittings, which were so alien in form, could have been assembled by locals working with the guidance of hearsay alone.

Finally, it is worth stressing that the use of a tumulus as a burial monument, typically in association with other tumuli, had strong dynastic associations.[20] It is well known that both Nikarchos and Kephalon belonged to the same family, calling themselves descendants of Aḫ'ûtu, although a closer family connection between the two men has not been established. Moreover, Kephalon held the same office as his father, Anu-balāssu-iqbi: his father is attested both as *paqdu ša bīt ilāni* ('temple manager') and as *rab ša rēš āli ša Uruk*, while Kephalon himself is known only by the latter title and his brother Anu-bēlšunu is attested as *paqdu ša Uruk*.[21] Such a family stake in high temple office is hardly an innovation of the Seleukid era since the phenomenon is already well attested during the Neo-Babylonian period.

Nikarchos—built and completed the Rēš, the temple of Anu and Antu […]' (*YOS* 1 52, ll. 1–5; translation following Doty 1988, 96).

19 Since the use of Macedonian-style tumuli was apparently not adopted by the Seleukid rulers themselves (see above). For burial tumuli containing comparable items of grave inventory, especially golden crowns and handled amphorae, Pedde cites examples from Macedonia as well as from Bulgaria and from among the kurgans of the Black Sea region (Pedde 1991, 535). It seems reasonable to assume that the funerary style was introduced under the direct influence of people of Graeco-Macedonian extraction, rather than by some other route, but this remains speculative.

20 In addition to Aigai (above), one might mention the tombs of the Lydian kings at Sardeis, or those of the Phrygian rulers at Gordion.

21 See Doty 1998, 97–98; Monerie 2012, 334.

However, if Kephalon (and/or his father or brother?) is a possible candidate for occupant of one of the burial tumuli under discussion, then it might be that he and his family were adopting this funerary practice as one more means of reinforcing their claim to civic leadership and negotiating their position vis-à-vis the imperial court and the local community.[22]

Royal Involvement in Temple Building

As to the rôle of Nikarchos and Kephalon, serving both as leaders of the local community and as intermediaries between the city and the Seleukid court, a central question is whether or not the temple (re)buildings commemorated in their inscriptions (see below) were actually initiated by them alone or acting on the authority of the ruler. Both men carried out massive (re)building operations on the main city temple, the Rēš, dedicated to the god Anu as head of the local pantheon, and the Ešgal, dedicated to the goddesses Ištar and Nanaya. Although the Rēš is often treated as a Seleukid institution, it certainly predates the Hellenistic era and was probably installed as the main city temple, replacing the great Eanna temple dedicated to Ištar as a result of cultic reforms in Uruk implemented by Xerxes (485–465 BCE).[23]

Sherwin-White and Kuhrt considered it a certainty that such building operations were carried out with the approval of the Seleukid ruler and that they were funded by the crown, either directly or indirectly.[24] By contrast, Cooper has argued strongly against any royal initiation of, or support for these (re)buildings, claiming that the building inscriptions of Nikarchos and Kephalon indicate rather the opposite.[25] He also writes (p. 104) that 'Persian and Greek rulers seem not to have been great patrons of the Babylonian temples or of their personnel'. However, this argument takes at face value the near-complete absence of royal building inscriptions written in the name of the Achaemenid and Seleukid rulers. Closer study of the contemporary

22 See also Monerie 2012 on the dynastic pretensions of Kephalon's family. He stresses the family's hold on high temple office down to the reign of Antiochus IV, and also its connections with (presumably) influential members of the Greek community via Kephalon's marriage to a woman named Antiochis, daughter of Diophantos. Significantly, numerous descendants of Kephalon and his brothers bore Greek names; see the family stemma published by Monerie (2012, 352), who is surely correct in considering this choice of Greek names to have a political significance.

23 See Baker forthcoming.

24 Sherwin-White and Kuhrt 1993, 154–155.

25 Cooper 2008, 104–105.

documentary sources reveals that it was especially at times of transition to a different regime, and also at other crucial political junctures, that the ruler needed to enlist key members of the native élite in order to maintain or re-establish stability.[26] Also, there is clear evidence to indicate that Seleukid rulers could be actively involved in Babylonian temple affairs, such as the Babylonian chronicle text discussed by Sherwin-White and Kuhrt.[27] As they note, the text reveals close cooperation between the ruler and the chief administrator (*šatammu*) of Esagila, the temple of Marduk at Babylon.[28] The *šatammu* is said to have complied with a written order of the king to carry out certain rites, drawing partly on funds from the royal treasury. There is nothing in the text (or in the other contemporary sources) to suggest that this was an exceptional situation: what Cooper understands as infrequent royal participation in cultic affairs could equally well be interpreted as a result of uneven source distribution and survival.[29] Other Babylonian chronicle texts of the Seleukid era mention the king in association with temple matters, although the context is generally too broken to determine the precise nature of the interaction.[30] Given this level of royal involvement in temple affairs—a tradition which has a long history in Babylonia[31]—it seems most unlikely that a major temple complex such as the Rēš and Ešgal would have been rebuilt without the ruler's active involvement and support, especially considering the vast expense involved. Conversely, the importance of the Babylonian temples as a (or the) major driving force in the regional economy should not be overlooked.[32]

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[26] See Jursa 2007 on the transition to Achaemenid rule; Baker (forthcoming) on Uruk in the late Achaemenid and Seleukid periods.

[27] Sherwin-White and Kuhrt 1993, 203.

[28] Linssen (2004, 18–19, 124–128) also stresses the active role of the ruler and his representatives in Babylonian cult, as does most recently Monerie (2012, 331).

[29] Cooper 2008, 105 with n. 2.

[30] A new edition of these texts is forthcoming, namely *Babylonian Chronicles of the Hellenistic Period* (= *BCHP*) by I. Finkel and R.J. van der Spek. In the meantime their preliminary editions are available online at: http://www.livius.org/cg-cm/chronicles/chron00.html (accessed 16 May 2012).

[31] See Waerzeggers 2011 on the Babylonian ruler's involvement in temple affairs and the ideology surrounding it.

[32] See especially van der Spek (2006) on the continuation of the Babylonian temples into the Parthian era, and note his conclusion (p. 277) that they were 'sizable and active organizations with a substantial work force of several hundred and probably thousand persons involved in cult, agriculture and manufacture'.

The Use of Multiple Languages

The question of language use is central to any attempt to examine the interaction between the city and temple administration of Uruk on the one hand and the local representatives of the imperial government on the other. Unfortunately, the surviving documentation is dominated by the cuneiform tablets deriving from a small sector of the indigenous population, namely the (mostly higher-ranking) personnel associated with the temples.[33] The clay bullae originally attached to documents which have since perished constitute another important source of information, especially for the various tax offices whose seals were impressed on some of them, but in the absence of the original documents their value for reconstructing the mechanics of bureaucracy is limited.[34] It remains uncertain whether the documents themselves were written in Aramaic or Greek (or even Akkadian, as has been suggested). The fact that many documents, both cuneiform tablets and those sealed with the surviving bullae, were found in the temple cannot necessarily be taken as an indication that the temple was where many of the related administrative activities were actually carried out. Since Kessler's publication in 1984 of a tablet dated in 108 BCE which mentions both the Rēš and the Ešgal (but was found in another part of the site), it has been clear that the temples survived the Parthian conquest of Babylonia and continued to operate until at least the last decade of the second century BCE. However, the fact remains that the tablets excavated in the Rēš break off in 141 BCE, the year of the Parthian conquest.[35] The possibility has to be considered that the tablets and sealed documents were brought into the temple for safekeeping during a time of conflict, rather than stored there as a matter of routine. If this suggestion is correct then the Urukean temples certainly survived the Parthian invasion, but they were by no means unaffected by it. This possible interpretation affects our understanding of the temple's role in administrative affairs in the later decades of Seleukid rule, forcing us to question the connection

[33] For a summary see Oelsner 2003.

[34] See Lindström 2003, especially pp. 25–62 on the seals of officials and tax offices.

[35] Lindström 2003, 66. The latest dated tablet found in Ešgal/Irigal was written in 146 BCE. The latest tablet from the Rēš was dated by both the Seleukid and Arsakid eras, thus in the year 141 BCE but a few months after the establishment of Parthian rule; this does not necessarily speak against the suggestion that the tablets came to be stored in the temple as a result of emergency measures precipitated by the invasion. The absence of tablets dated after 141 BCE does seem to attest to some disruption, at least in the sphere of archive-keeping if not in administrative practices in general.

between the place(s) where the records were stored and the place(s) where those same records were produced and/or processed by the administration.

Leaving aside the specifics of how the administration operated, a great deal has been written about language use in general in Babylonia during the last centuries of the cuneiform writing tradition.[36] However, it remains necessary, following Kose,[37] to correct the picture presented even in quite recent publications concerning the Hellenistic-period inscriptions found in the Uruk excavations. According to Sherwin-White and Kuhrt, no Greek inscriptions were found at Hellenistic Uruk, with the exception of some second century BCE Rhodian amphora handles.[38] More recently, Petrie stated that '[…] only one (Parthian-period) Greek inscription has been recovered' at the site.[39] Both of these accounts are incorrect. The final excavation report published by Kose mentions six Greek inscriptions (including the Parthian one mentioned by Petrie), of which one (no. 1) was previously unpublished, two (nos. 2–3) were published in 1959 and 1935 respectively, and the remaining three (nos. 4–6) were published in 1993.[40] In addition to these there were also found four graffiti fragments (nos. 7–10) and four ostraka (nos. 11–14). One of the Greek inscriptions is extremely significant for the present theme; its existence has been noted in passing by Schaudig,[41] followed by Beaulieu,[42] but the inscription and its context needs to be brought into the mainstream of the ongoing discussion of language use in Hellenistic Uruk. I am referring here to an inscribed glazed brick fragment that once formed part of a relief frieze on the Rēš temple, that is, specifically the 'Kernbau',[43] as rebuilt

36 Much of the discussion centres around the question of when the cuneiform script ceased to be written/read, and the related issue of the so-called 'Graeco-Babyloniaca' tablets; see especially Geller 1997 and Westenholz 2007. See Beaulieu (2007) for a comprehensive overview of language use in Mesopotamia during the first millennium BCE, covering both Babylonia and Assyria. Beaulieu assumes that Babylonian had died out as a spoken vernacular by the time of Alexander's conquest; however, Hackl (forthcoming) presents a compelling case for Late Babylonian continuing in use as a spoken language as late as the second century BCE.

37 Kose 1998, 75.

38 They write: '[…] not a single Greek inscription on stone, or graffito, or *ostrakon* of Hellenistic date can with certainty be attributed to Uruk […]' (Sherwin-White and Kuhrt 1993, 149).

39 Petrie 2002, 105; similarly, Hannestad 2012, 997.

40 Kose 1998, 75–77.

41 Schaudig 2001, 315.

42 Beaulieu 2007, 211.

43 I retain the excavators' term here in order to distinguish the main temple of Anu from the wider temple precinct in which it was situated.

in baked brick by Kephalon. This frieze was considered by the excavators to have been attached to the outer face of the temple wall on the southwest side, beneath the roof, according to the Greek style.[44] Oelsner notes that this frieze with its Greek inscription 'may result out of Hellenizing tendencies in the leading families of the city who according to cuneiform inscriptions were responsible for the building', although he adds that in other respects these people acted as 'true Babylonians'.[45] In general the Rēš temple's debt to native Babylonian temple-building traditions (and in particular to Esagila, the temple of Marduk at Babylon) has been repeatedly stressed,[46] which makes the incorporation of the Greek-style frieze with its Greek inscription all the more intriguing. In the light of the above discussion, it could be seen as one more reflection of the 'double identity' consciously projected by the highest members of the local city élite.

In addition to the cuneiform and Greek inscriptions mentioned so far, a number of Aramaic inscriptions have also been found in the Seleukid and Parthian levels at Uruk. Most of these were found not in association with the Rēš temple but rather in the other main temple in Uruk, that of Ištar and Nanaya, the Ešgal.[47] These include the Aramaic inscription installed in the cultic niche within the main cella of Ešgal, attributed to Kephalon and dated c. 200 BCE.[48] Thus Kephalon was responsible for installing two display inscriptions in a monumental context in a language other than Akkadian—Greek in the Rēš, Aramaic in Ešgal. This constitutes a significant innovation whose implications deserve further consideration. Although the Aramaic inscriptions from Uruk are not numerous, their particular association with

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44 Kose 1998, 75, 162 (following Andrae).

45 Oelsner 2002, 187.

46 E.g. Downey 1988, 17–28; George 1995, 194–195; 1996, 374; 1999, 79–83.

47 The same temple name is sometimes rendered 'Irigal' in the literature.

48 For the Aramaic graffiti and ostraka found at Uruk see Kose 1998, 78–79. Among the Aramaic inscriptions found in Ešgal (in addition to the Kephalon inscription, no. 1) were a baked brick from the main cella (no. 2), another from the entrance room of the Kernbau (no. 4), and a baked brick fragment (no. 6) also from the Kernbau. Four Aramaic ostraka (nos. 9–12) were found in the vicinity of the main entrance to the cella in the Kernbau. The ostraka are assigned a date of first century BCE/first century CE, thus somewhat later than the brick inscriptions which are thought to be contemporary with the aforementioned Kephalon inscription. A single ostraka (no. 8), possibly inscribed in Aramaic, was found in the Rēš, as was a single inscribed brick (no. 3) dated to 201 BCE. Other finds of Aramaic script comprised a brick fragment from the Karaindaš Temple (no. 5, dated Seleukid/Parthian) and a miniature brick (no. 7; no provenance or date). The Karaindaš temple is a small shrine to the goddess Ištar built originally during the Kassite period in the late 15th century BCE and rebuilt during the Hellenistic era (Kose 1998, 274).

Ešgal is interesting since it was the goddess Nanaya,[49] the temple's patron deity (alongside Ištar), whose cult spread far beyond the borders of Babylonia during the Seleukid and Parthian periods to reach as far as Syria, Egypt, Greece, Iran and Bactria.[50] By contrast, the worship of Anu seems to have remained an entirely local, specifically Urukean affair.[51] This differing use of language within the two temples suggests a strategy on Kephalon's part of addressing different constituencies in the context of his massive (re)building program.[52] In the Rēš, home of the main city god, Anu, and thus the religious focus for the urban community in general and especially for the learned upper echelons (for whom Babylonian, written in cuneiform, served as an élite language), he united the interests of his own people with those of the imperial ruling class by installing a display inscription in the latter's own language, Greek.[53] In the Ešgal he promoted the cult of Nanaya (and Ištar) using the *koine* language, Aramaic, thus acknowledging (and perhaps promoting) Nanaya's rise in popularity far beyond the borders of Babylonia. In doing so he situated the Ešgal within a different cultural sphere from the Rēš, deliberately addressing an audience not simply of élite Urukeans but also the Aramaic-speaking majority, thereby reaffirming the place of Uruk within the wider culture of the Seleukid realm. So, when Clancier describes the cuneiform script as 'a signifier of the members of the old urban notability of Babylonia',[54] this characterisation is true to an extent but it does not do justice to the complexity of the situation around 200 BCE, when Kephalon projected aspects of a multiple identity aimed at uniting the various interlocking constituencies under his purview.

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49 The goddess Nanaya is known from as early as the third millennium BCE, when she was already associated with Uruk; she was the daughter of Anu and was often syncretized with Inanna/Ištar, who was her mother according to one tradition. For a thorough account of her cult at Uruk and its history, see Beaulieu 2003, 182–216.

50 See, most recently, Ambos 2003 on representations of Nanaya, especially p. 236 on the spread of her cult during the Hellenistic era; Nanaya was identified with the goddess Artemis.

51 Compare the worship of other Mesopotamian deities in Parthian-period Syria, namely Bēl, Nabû, Nergal and Adad; see Geller 1997, 55–56; Müller-Kessler and Kessler 1999 (on native Babylonian deities in early Mandaic texts of the second/third centuries CE, including 'Nanaya of Borsippa'); Ambos 2003, 236.

52 Compare Westenholz's characterisation of a member of the temple personnel c. 250 BCE as 'a trilingual individual who spoke Akkadian (and even Sumerian) to his gods and his colleagues, Aramaic to his neighbours, and Greek to his tax collector' (Westenholz 2007, 293).

53 The message to the Babylonians, most of whom presumably could not read Greek, was reinforced; as Zimansky (2007, 266) writes of the Urarṭian inscriptions, 'this was writing to be seen and not necessarily read'.

54 Clancier 2011, 756, following Beaulieu 2006 [= Beaulieu 2007].

Conclusions

The mechanisms by which the horizontal élite networks worked to secure loyalty towards the ruler on the local level while also influencing political affairs at court and gaining privileges for themselves have been examined in detail by Strootman based on better evidence than we have available for Uruk.[55] Nevertheless, various strands of Urukean data converge, albeit sometimes in a more shadowy fashion than we might wish, to suggest the operation of mechanisms very much along the lines that he describes. These include: the adoption of Graeco-Macedonian burial customs by leading members of the urban community, thereby depicting themselves as local rulers and promoting their dynastic aspirations, as well as making a powerful visual statement by radically transforming the physical landscape at the approach to the city; the statement by Anu-uballiṭ that his other name, Nikarchos, had been given to him by the ruler Antiochos;[56] the strategic use of Greek and Aramaic as well as Babylonian in the official inscriptions of Kephalon, and the installation of an apparently Greek-style frieze in an otherwise Babylonian-style temple structure. All of these features could reasonably be considered as aspects of not merely a 'double identity', but even a multiple identity assumed by members of the local élite as a means of aligning themselves with the centre of power and establishing social distance from their inferior compatriots.[57] At the same time these functionaries ensured that they were seen to serve all of the various interested parties: the traditional Urukean élite which still wrote in cuneiform (and perhaps still spoke Akkadian); the wider, Aramaic-speaking local community; the local Greek élite as representatives of the imperial administration, and the Seleukid ruler himself. Thus, this package of attributes adds nuance to the conventional interpretation of the traditional Urukean temple élite as 'cuneiform culture's last guardians', an overly simplistic interpretation which overlooks the extent to which members the local élite actively sought to consolidate their power by participating in Seleukid court society. They

[55] Strootman 2011.

[56] The granting of a Greek name by the Seleukid king should be seen in the same light as the so-called 'friends' of the king, by means of which men became attached to the royal household, thus becoming 'courtiers' (Strootman 2011, 69–74). Similarly, the Ptolemaic ruler's circle of 'kinsmen' could be extended to encompass local high officials (Moyer 2011). Whether or not Nikarchos was actually counted among the king's 'friends', the act of bestowing a Greek name on him can be considered to have served similar ideological and political functions.

[57] Cf. Strootman 2011, 70.

did indeed guard cuneiform culture, but they also adapted in order to survive. Their innovations repositioned the city of Uruk, establishing its place within a much wider-ranging network of social and cultural relations.[58]

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[58] Cf. Moyer (2011, 15), who writes of the local élite in Ptolemaic Egypt contributing to 'the creation of a transcultural space …'; cf. p. 38: 'The alliance between indigenous elites and the Ptolemaic court could be forged in an imagined transcultural space at the intersection of two privileged spaces—that of the temple and that of the court—a space that stretched from the palace in Alexandria to temple forecourts far in the south'.

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BABYLONIAN, MACEDONIAN, KING OF THE WORLD: THE ANTIOCHOS CYLINDER FROM BORSIPPA AND SELEUKID IMPERIAL INTEGRATION

Rolf Strootman

'Antiochos the Great King, [...] king of the world, king of Babylon, king of countries, [...], foremost son of Seleukos, the king, the Macedonian [...] am I'.[1] Thus begins the Cylinder of the Seleukid ruler Antiochos I Soter. This beautifully preserved cuneiform document from Seleukid Mesopotamia dated to 268 BCE has long been recognized as a crucial source for understanding Macedonian imperialism in the Middle East.[2] A foundation inscription found intact in the sanctuary of the Babylonian god Nabû at Borsippa, the Cylinder offers a unique snapshot of the empire's attitude towards indigenous populations and local culture. Attempts at analysis are still rare,

[1] *ANET*³ 317 = Austin 1981, no. 189, ll. i.1–6. Throughout the article I have used the translation of the Cylinder by M. Stol and R.J. van der Spek: preliminary edition online at www.livius.org. Abbreviations used in this paper: *ABC* = A.K. Grayson ed., *Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles* (Locust Valley 1975); *ANET*³ = J.B. Pritchard ed., *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament* (3rd ed. Princeton 1969); *CAD* = A.L. Oppenheim et al., eds., *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago* (Chicago 1965); *BCHP* = R.J. van der Spek and I.L. Finkel, *Babylonian Chronicles of the Hellenistic Period* (forthcoming; preliminary edition online at www.livius.org); *BM* = British Museum, London; *SE* = Seleukid Era.

[2] I define 'empire' with Barkey 2008, 9, as 'a large composite and differentiated polity linked to a central power by a variety of direct and indirect relations, where the center exercises political control through hierarchical and quasi-monopolistic relations over groups different from itself. These relations are, however, regularly subject to negotiations over the degree of autonomy of intermediaries in return for military and fiscal compliance'. Cf. d'Altroy 2001, 125: 'The outstanding feature of preindustrial empires was the continually metamorphosing nature of relations between the central powers and the societies drawn under the imperial aegis'. New approaches to premodern empires emphasizing network relations, negotiation and change go back to the basic notion of Mann 1986 that tributary land empires 'are better understood as intersecting, often shifting networks of power than as rigidly structural polities' (Hämäläinen 2008, 441), and supersede the 'postcolonial' association of premodern empires with the European national states' colonial empires of the Modern Age, as was popular especially in the 1970s and 1980s (cf. Bang and Bayly 2011, ix, who dismiss this equation by simply speaking of 'precolonial land empires'). With 'imperialism' I mean the actual practice of empire (conquest, war-making, control of resources, tribute collecting, gift exchange, negotiation, patronage etc.); see also the remarks on political diversity as a defining aspect of empires in n. 5, below.

however, as the Cylinder has been appropriated as evidence in support of the postcolonial paradigm that emphasizes the continuity of Near Eastern culture in the Hellenistic East. Only very recently have new readings of the Cylinder been proposed.[3]

It is not my intention to give a full analysis of the Cylinder. I will take the Antiochos Cylinder as a point of departure to investigate the entanglement of the global and the local in an imperial context, viz., the Seleukid Empire. More specifically, the aim of this paper is to explore the hypothesis that the contact zone where the encounters between city and empire in the Seleukid Middle East took place was, apart from the court, the religious sphere, particularly local sanctuaries and local cults.

Taking my cue from Charles Tilly's model of state formation, I understand the Seleukid Empire as basically a negotiated enterprise.[4] The empire was in essence a tribute-taking hegemonial system overlaying a variety of different peoples, religions, and, most importantly, different polities.[5]

In Tilly's model for understanding the dynamics of early modern state formation, which in an adapted form can work for the Hellenistic world as well,[6] the fundamental entanglement of monarchies and cities is emphasized and explained: monarchies can in principle coerce cities into submission but they are also dependent on cities because they need the surpluses collected at civic markets to finance and support their coercive means. The use of military force against walled cities, often disposing of their own military apparatus or protected by rival imperial powers, moreover is costly and time-consuming.[7] Cities in their turn can be dependent on monarchies for

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[3] Erickson 2011; Kosmin forthcoming.

[4] Tilly 1990; 1994.

[5] As modern scholars often find characteristic of empires in general; cf. the definitions by, e.g., Sinopoli 1994, 159 ('composed of a diversity of localized communities and ethnic groups, each contributing its unique history and social, economic, religious, and political traditions'); Howe 2002, 15 ('by definition big, and they must be composite entities, formed out of previously separate units. Diversity [...] is their essence'); Barkey 2008, 9 ('large composite and differentiated polities'); and Turchin 2006, 3 ('given the difficulties of communication in preindustrial times, large states had to come up with a variety of ad hoc ways to bind far-flung territories to the center. One of the typical expedients was to incorporate smaller neighbors as self-contained units [...] leaving their internal functioning alone. Such processes of piecemeal accumulation usually lead to complicated chains of command and the coexistence of heterogeneous territories within one state'). *Pace* Sommer 2000, who assumes a conscious choice for a policy of 'indirect rule' in Seleukid Babylonia: the Seleukids, like other imperial powers in the Ancient Near East, presumably did not have much of a choice in this respect.

[6] Strootman 2007, esp. 26–30; 2011b.

[7] In the Hellenistic Age, both the number of walled cities as well as the strength of civic fortifications increased greatly, notably in Greece, Asia Minor and the Black Sea region, as

their safety and the protection of their autonomy. Both parties then have something to gain and something to give and both parties usually prefer to negotiate. This accounts for one of the fundamental paradoxes of the Hellenistic world: that cities may gain or preserve independence and self-government in return for their submission to imperial rule.[8]

Babylonia was a core region of the Seleukid Empire for almost 175 years. It probably was the single most important source of agricultural wealth for the dynasty. The city of Babylon is important because of the relative abundance of (cuneiform) sources informing us about the relationship between monarchy and city—the Seleukids may have singled out the city as a showcase for imperial patronage[9]—and the socio-cultural developments taking place in the city. How and where did encounters between the social systems of the imperial court and the Babylonian ruling families take place, and how did these encounters affect the development of social imaginaries in Babylon?

An additional source of inspiration is the notion, related to the concept of social imaginary, of Middle Ground. The term was coined by the American Frontier scholar Richard White to explain the dynamics of cultural interactions between Native Americans and European colonists in the Great Lakes area between 1650 and 1815. His goal was to explain (to quote Irad Malkin's rendering of White's basic question) 'how individuals of different cultural backgrounds reached accommodation and constructed a common, mutually comprehensive world'.[10] Middle Ground allows new social imaginaries to develop. To quote White himself:

> On the Middle Ground diverse peoples adjust their differences through what amounts to a process of creative, and often expedient misunderstandings. People try to persuade others who are different from them by appealing to what they perceive to be the values and practices of those others. They misinterpret and distort both the values and the practices of those they deal with,

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several archaeological sites still impressively show (e.g. Messene, Kaunos, Perge); for a quick overview consult Nossof 2009, see further i.a, Winter 1971 *passim*; McNicoll 1972 and 1997; Wasowicz 1986; Avram 2005. The archaeology of imperial strongholds such as Demetrias, Dura Europos, Jebel Khalid, or Antiocheia in Margiana (Merw), show that these were heavily fortified, too. The archaeological record from towns in early Hellenistic Palestine shows a conspicuous increase in the building or reconstruction of fortifications, perhaps as a result of Ptolemaic-Seleukid rivalry, cf. Tal 2011 That cities had fighting capabilities of their own in the form of mercenaries and/or citizen troops is apparent from the active involvement of many of them in the wars of the Hellenistic Age; see Ma 2000; Chaniotis 2004, 18–43.

8 On this paradox (and the need to accept cultural inconsistencies in general) see Versnel 1990.

9 Kuhrt 1996.

10 Malkin 2002, 152.

> but from these misunderstandings arise new meanings and practices—the shared meanings and practices of the Middle Ground.[11]

Of course this concept was developed to explain colonial encounters in peripheral regions with extreme cultural differences. White's Middle Ground is a frontier phenomenon, a place in between two cultural spheres that was controlled by neither of the two completely, which in turn demanded flexibility. Middle Ground is more a cultural term than a physical space. I prefer therefore 'contact zone'—defined by Mary Louise Pratt as 'social spaces where cultures meet, clash, and grapple, often in contexts of highly asymmetrical relations of power'[12]—as the term to identify the place, time, and social context where negotiations between empire and city take place. In White's colonial model, cultures are supposed to interact at the frontier. In the Hellenistic world, by contrast, we should look for the interaction of cultures not only in peripheral regions but especially in urbanized central regions like Phoenicia, Babylonia or Bactria where markets were located and where international trade took place. It was there that the empire concentrated its efforts to extract surpluses and control access to the main roads; it was there that the Graeco-Macedonian ruling power and local elites met.

The problem that I seek to solve is the paradox of the simultaneous existence in the Seleukid Empire of, on the one hand, localized indirect rule founded on the cooperation of heterogeneous civic elites (or segments of those elites) and, on the other hand, imperial unity visualized by the consistent use—either centrally ordained or developing from local initiatives—of more or less similar images of imperial power for the entire empire, as well as the use by the empire of the Greek language and alphabet, especially on coins. These images of course vary from reign to reign, and develop through time. But the overall picture is one of relative consistency and unity. The Babylonian cities in particular were conspicuously loyal to the dynasty.

This prompts two fundamental questions. The first question is, how did Seleukid rulers try to get a grip on local, civic politics, especially in cities that were not integrated, or only loosely integrated, in the Hellenic system of 'peer polity interaction' connecting the *poleis* at the westernmost end of the Seleukid world?[13] Cities within the reach of Seleukid hegemonial endeavors

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[11] White 1991, x.

[12] Pratt 1991, 33; I am grateful to Onno van Nijf for this reference.

[13] For the *poleis* of the Hellenistic Aegean and Asia Minor as separate systems of interconnected communities exchanging ambassadors on a regular basis and sharing an increasingly

whose populations cultivated a Hellenic identity, the new as well as the old, were already potentially within the Seleukid king's orbit through *philia* and *xenia* systems. These international social networks of ritualized friendship connected civic elite families with each other and with the court, especially in Aegean *polis* communities.[14] Royal *philoi* in the Hellenistic world have been the subject of ample research.[15] But how did the Greek-speaking court relate to 'indigenous' elites in non-Greek cities in the Near East? These cities, too, were self-governing and at least de facto autonomous; it would be wrong to take Seleukid control of them simply for granted, or to explain away complexity in the relations between kings and cities by postulating an ahistorical distinction between 'free' cities and cities that were 'under royal rule'.[16]

The strategies employed by the dynasty to secure the cooperation and formal submission of these cities' elites—that is the local aspect. The second question is, by what means did the Seleukids succeed in integrating these elites of multifarious cultural backgrounds into the imperial framework as a whole? And that is the global aspect—how the empire was kept *together*. The latter aspect is often neglected because scholars tend to concentrate on the Seleukids' policy towards specific ethnic groups or polities (e.g. the politics of euergetism in Greek *poleis*).

As a preliminary answer to these questions, I would suggest that local and global forms of interaction were interwoven. The most conspicuous form of *local* interaction between empire and city was the Seleukids' well-attested patronage of municipal sanctuaries and the direct and indirect participation of the king and his entourage in local cults and festivals—the court moving *into* the various cities and cult centers of the empire. The *global* element

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similar civic culture see Ma 2003 and Michels, this volume; for the concept in general consult Renfrew 1986. Although such networks of interaction probably existed among the cities of Phoenicia, Babylonia, or Bactria, too, it is my contention that in imperial worlds the horizontal peer polity model alone does not suffice to explain inter-civic relations and the resulting social and cultural developments, as I will expound on later.

14 Herman 1997, 208; Strootman 2007, 134–139. Cf. Herman 1987.

15 For Seleukid *philoi* see, e.g., Savalli-Lestrade 1998; Capdetrey 2007, 383–394; Strootman 2007, 119–166. The fact that most *philoi* had an Aegean origin and cultivated a Greek identity has now been firmly established, cf. Habicht 1958; Herman 1997, 208; Capdetrey 2007, 389–392; Strootman 2007, 124–133. Kuhrt and Sherwin-White 1993, 124–125, McKenzie 1994, and Carsana 1996, 20–21, have argued for a strong non-Greek presence among the Seleukid *philoi*—but the non-Greeks at court probably were bound to the royal family by other means than *philia* (Strootman forthcoming; and 2011a, 83–84).

16 Cf. Strootman 2011b. For the autonomy of Babylonian cities see generally van de Mieroop 1999, and specifically for the Hellenistic period Boiy 2004, 193–225.

evidently is the gravitational force of the imperial court: representatives of cities and/or temples were drawn to the court for specific, often cultic, occasions such as royal marriages, inaugurations or the celebration of religious festivals.

From the Civic Center to the Outer Court

I have dealt with the court, the itinerant nodal point of the Seleukid imperial system, more extensively elsewhere.[17] A brief summary will suffice to make the point.

The contact zone where civic elites encountered the imperial elite was the so-called 'outer court': a temporary expansion of the stable but much smaller 'inner court': the dynastic household comprising the extended family of the king and his queen(s), the household personnel, and various aulic title holders.[18] The outer court came into existence for the occasion of great events, such as inaugurations, wedding ceremonies or religious festivals, that attracted elite persons from all over the empire to the place where at that time the imperial court resided. For instance in 2 *Macc.* 4.18–20 we read that when Antiochos IV was in Tyre to celebrate the quadrennial festival in honor of Herakles-Melkart, the Jerusalemite high priest Jason sent an embassy to the court bringing a gift of 300 silver drachms and some requests. At the imperial court, representatives of cities were 'sojourners'—temporary between-culture travelers.[19] At court, they would meet representatives of other cities and other cultures. Because the mediators between visitors and the monarch were the royal *philoi*, the friends of the king who were mostly Greeks, visitors from other cultural backgrounds would adopt what they believed to be the right manners of the court. They would take these prestigious manners home with them to signify their affiliation with the empire's central source of prestige, the king, and to distance themselves from rivals who did not enjoy royal favor.[20]

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17 Strootman 2007; 2011a; 2012.

18 Cf. Asch 1991, 4; Duindam 1995, 92; cf. Strootman 2013a for the outer court as a Hellenistic phenomenon.

19 Ward, Bochner and Furnham 2003, 6–7; i.e., in contrast to long-term residents and immigrants; in the modern world, this category includes diplomats, businessmen, and exchange students.

20 For the importance of favor (i.e., the degree of access one has to the court and the king) in the Hellenistic kingdoms see Strootman forthcoming.

The adoption of elements of Hellenistic court culture was a means by which elite members from different communities expressed their allegiance to, and structured their relations with, the imperial center, while at the same time distancing themselves from their rivals and inferiors at home. It furthermore helped them to relate to, and connect with, the leading families of other communities. The Hellenism of non-Greek civic elites will not have been viewed as Greekness in an ethnic sense or connected geographically with the Aegean. In the Seleukid east, Greekness more probably was what scholars of Bronze Age material culture have called *international style*: eclectic elite art that 'has *not* to be connected with a specific culture but with specific social groups around the Mediterranean that actively used it in the conception of oppositional categories'.[21]

The Antiochos Cylinder from Borsippa

Above, I have very briefly discussed the global aspect. We will now turn to the local aspect and have a closer look at the Antiochos Cylinder.

The Antiochos Cylinder is a cuneiform building inscription from Seleukid Mesopotamia, dated to 268 BCE (Fig. 10). It was found in the 1880s *in situ* and intact in the foundations of the Ezida, the temple of the Babylonian moon god Nabû at Borsippa, a town near Babylon. Presently it is part of the collection of the British Museum in London (*BM* 36277). The Cylinder carries an inscription in Akkadian, the old Babylonian language that was used for official and cultic purposes; the spoken language of Hellenistic Mesopotamia at that time was Aramaic. The script is a deliberately archaizing form of Babylonian cuneiform that was also used in propagandistic texts of Nabopolassar, Nebuchadnezzar, and Nabonidus to create a sense of permanence and perhaps a direct link to Nebuchadnezzar, the last to have rebuilt the Ezida temple.[22] By suggesting a link with the Neo-Babylonian Empire, Seleukid propaganda erased the Achaemenids from Babylonian history.

The text of the Antiochos Cylinder describes the simultaneous rebuilding by the Seleukid ruler Antiochos I Soter (281–261 BCE) of the temple named Ezida at Borsippa and the important Marduk temple Esagila in the heart

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21 Versluys 2010, 13–14, with reference to Caubet 1998, who 'suggests that in the second millennium BCE the kingdoms of inner Syria used a foreign, eclectic style with Egyptian elements in the formation of their own identity as cosmopolite', and to Feldman 2006, who is critical of the concept of international style because it 'presupposes the existence of "national" styles, which would be an anomaly for the period'.

22 Kosmin forthcoming; cf. Waerzeggers 2011.

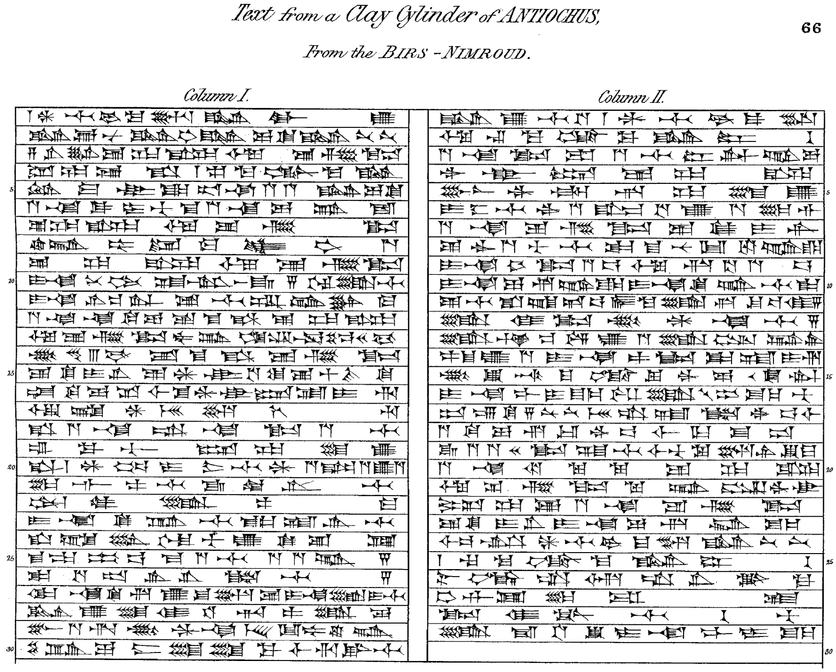

Fig. 10. Antiochos Cylinder. Transcription of the text from Rawlinson and Pinches 1884, no. 66.

of Babylon itself. It is concluded by a prayer of the king to Nabû of Borsippa. Borsippa was at that time connected to Babylon by an artificial canal which was used to ritually transport the cult statue of Nabû to Babylon, where he would attend the *Akitu* Festival—the well-known Babylonian New Year Festival dedicated to Nabû's father, Marduk, the principal deity in the Babylonian Pantheon. This yearly ritual of purification was also a (returning) coronation ritual of sorts, in which the king temporarily abdicated in order to be ritually reborn and reinstated.[23] The festival survived during the Achaemenid period, and was still performed under Seleukid rule.[24]

23 For *Akitu* as a ritual of reversal see Versnel 1993, 32–37.

24 The evidence for the Babylonian *Akitu* Festival in Hellenistic times is collected and discussed in Linssen 2004, 79–87; for the processional routes see Pongratz-Leisten 1994. For the Ezida temple at Borsippa consult Waerzeggers 2010, and for Hellenistic Babylonia in general van der Spek 1987, and Boiy 2004.

In the opening lines of the Cylinder's text, Antiochos identifies himself using the Babylonian formula of (universal) kingship:

> Antiochos, the great king, the mighty king, king of the world, king of Babylon, king of countries, caretaker of Esagila and Ezida, foremost son of Seleukos, the king, the Macedonian, king of Babylon, am I.[25]

The king then says that he (re)built Esagila and Ezida, presenting himself as the 'caretaker' (*za-ni-in*) of the two temples, a term also used in Neo-Babylonian royal documents.[26] The remaining three-fourths of the lines are a prayer to Nabû in which the king beseeches the god to grant him and his co-ruler and son Seleukos 'the overthrow of the country of my enemy, the achievement of my triumphs, the predominance over the enemy through victory, kingship of justice, a reign of prosperity, years of happiness, [and] the full enjoyment of very old age' (ll. i.25–30). In the concluding lines, the king again asks the god for rather commonplace imperial success, but this time it is ultimately Babylon that will benefit from the Seleukid king's accomplishments:

> May my hands conquer the countries from sunrise to sunset so that I might inventory their tribute and bring it to make perfect Esagila and Ezida. O Nabû, foremost son [of Marduk], when you enter Ezida, the true house, may the good (fate) of Antiochos, king of countries, king Seleukos, his son, (and) Stratonike his consort, the queen, be established by your will.[27]

Scholars have mostly considered the Antiochos Cylinder the foremost example of how king Antiochos, and the Seleukids in general, respected local traditions and carefully embedded their kingship in indigenous, viz., Babylonian culture.[28] But this cannot be the whole story. Emphasis on adaptation alone would eventually culminate in a view of the empire as lacking cohesive qualities, apart from the king's personal charisma, strong enough to unite individuals, groups and communities, and create a sense of imperial commonwealth.[29] The fact that the Seleukids managed to remain in control

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25 *ANET*³ 317 = Austin 1981, no. 189, ll. i.1–6.

26 *CAD* Z 46, s.v. *zāninu*; cited after van der Spek's commentary to l. i.3.

27 *ANET*³ 317 = Austin 1981, no. 189, ll. ii.17–29, trans. Stol and van der Spek.

28 Cf. *inter alia* Herz 1996; Sommer 2000; this author, too (Strootman 2007, *passim*), was once convinced that 'the manifestation of royal rule was adapted to local and regional traditions and expectations' (p. 2), but also argued that diversity was integrated at the highest level by the development of a supranational culture of empire and the cohesive qualities of the royal courts.

29 According to many (e.g., Davies 2002; Paschidis 2008), the only cohesive aspect in the Hellenistic empires was the king's personal charisma, and that this 'did not form a

of the Fertile Crescent and western Iran for more than one and a half century strongly suggests that such a view of the empire is incorrect.

The Cylinder has also been used to support the postcolonial 'continuity paradigm', i.e., the line of thought that conceptualizes the empire of Alexander and the Seleukids as essentially a continuation of the Achaemenid Empire and emphasizes the continuity of Near Eastern cultural 'traditions', as opposed to the outdated notion of a one-sided Hellenization of the east.[30] Thus, Amélie Kuhrt and Susan Sherwin-White, in an article that was for a long time the only lengthy historical analysis of the Cylinder, characteristically urged scholars to 'evaluate [this] evidence within its own social and cultural context'.[31] This 'eastern' approach to the Hellenistic World, which became popular in the late 1980s, continues to dominate the debate despite various heuristic difficulties. It suffices to summarize only the three most problematic. First, this view capitalizes on an ahistorical antithesis of Greek ('European') and non-Greek ('Oriental') cultural systems. Second, pointing out continuities in itself has little explicative value for our understanding of the cultural and political processes that took place in the Near East in the Hellenistic period—the identification of continuity or discontinuity is in itself, as Christopher Tuplin pointed out, not non-banal.[32] Finally, the continuity paradigm conceptualizes Near Eastern cultures as essentially static.

In sum, conventional historiography sees the Antiochos Cylinder as evidence for the continuity of local traditions in the Seleukid Empire and thus

link between individuals, groups and communities sufficiently strong to form a unitary and cohesive structure to which people [...] could feel they belonged' (Paschidis 2008, 288–289).

30 See *inter alia* Sherwin-White 1987; Briant 1990; 2010; Kuhrt and Sherwin-White 1993; 1994; McKenzie 1994; Oelsner 2002; Aperghis 2008. The continuity paradigm developed from, and superseded, the reinterpretation in the late 1970s and early 1980s of Macedonian (Seleukid and Ptolemaic) imperialism in the Hellenistic period through the lens of the European nation-state's colonial experience, e.g., by Briant 1978, Will 1985, and, more nuanced, Bagnall 1997; this earlier paradigm conceptualized the Hellenistic empires as *mutatis mutandis* 'European' systems of exploitation and repression (on the colonial paradigm see Mairs 2006, 22–24; Ma 2008, 371; and Manning 2009, 11–18). There is also a connection between the continuity paradigm and the New Achaemenid History School that flourished between 1983 and 1994, on which see now Harrison 2011 and McCaskie 2012.

31 Kuhrt and Sherwin-White 1991, 71.

32 Tuplin 2008, 110. Skepticism of the still prevailing view that the Seleukid Empire should be understood as essentially a continuation of the Achaemenid Empire has earlier been expressed by Hoover 1996, 1; Austin 2003, 128; Strootman 2005 and 2007, 18–19; and later also forcefully by Harrison 2011, 113. Instead of merely identifying continuity and change, it may be more fruitful to investigate whether or not the Seleukids themselves, in their own monarchical and imperial representation, presented their rule as a continuation of the Achaemenid Empire, and *why* they chose to do so or not.

this piece of evidence has been fitted into the postcolonial view of the Seleukid Empire as an 'eastern' empire—a continuation of the Achaemenid Empire and various pre-existing monarchical traditions rather than an autonomous phase in the (cultural) history of the Middle East. In this paper I work from a different premise, taking issue with the prevalent view that Seleukid imperial policy should be understood as merely succumbing to pre-existing traditions. Instead of the model of continuity I prefer to approach Seleukid Babylon with the starting point of the Heidelberg Social Imaginaries conference in mind, namely the conviction that social discourses and practices are constantly in flux and bi-directional.[33] As we will see, monarchical-religious texts such as the Antiochos Cylinder were the result of a vital, two-way interaction of city and court.[34]

Adoption or Manipulation?

How 'traditional' was the Antiochos Cylinder, really? If the Seleukids were so conscientious about local identities, then why did members of local communities adopt a (partial) Greek identity, as they did most famously in Jerusalem and, *nota bene*, Babylon? And why then do most of the central representations of the Seleukid monarchy, notably the monarchical iconography on coins, look so very Greek (not to mention the use of the Greek language and alphabet for coin legends)? Was numismatic representation directed primarily at Greek immigrants only, with no more than an 'oriental' subtext behind the various images of Apollo and Zeus and diademed kings? Or was monarchical representation aimed at (the elites of) all peoples of the empire? And perhaps more importantly, did ancient observers approach culture using the same 'static ethnic interpretations' as we tend to do today, distinguishing relative degrees of 'Greekness' in material culture, values, and practices?[35]

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[33] Stavrianopoulou in this volume; cf. Baker, this volume, arguing that the replacement of native Babylonian rule by imperial rule necessarily entailed a shift in the relationship between the Babylonian cities and the new centers of power.

[34] *Contra* the now orthodox view, as expressed pithily by Sherwin-White 1983, 159: 'The king's actions are shaped to a thoroughly Babylonian mould. It may well be that the king left his image-making in religious matters to Babylonian authorities'. Only recently have reciprocal models of cultural interaction begun to make their mark on the study of Seleukid Babylon.

[35] Versluys 2010, 23; cf. Nitschke in this volume.

Regarding the Antiochos Cylinder, the reverse question may be asked: how traditional and local was the monarchical rhetoric of Antiochos I? The conspicuously archaizing quality of the Akkadian, as well as the use of divine images (as we will see below), is suggestive of *manipulation* of 'tradition' rather than the adoption of pre-existing cultural currents by the Seleukids.

In contrast to Kuhrt and Sherwin-White's influential instruction to view the text on the Antiochos Cylinder in what they have termed 'its own cultural and social context' (*sc.* Babylon), I believe that it would be more fruitful to evaluate the significance of the Antiochos Cylinder (as well as other Babylonian documents pertaining to Seleukid imperial rule) in a wider context of the Seleukid practice of empire. That is, to focus on the entanglement of the local and the global, rather than to study the local in isolation.

Royal Participation in Civic Cult

Elsewhere I have dealt more substantially with the entry of Hellenistic kings into cities, arguing that the key act in ceremonies of entry was the king's sacrifice in the city's principal sanctuary.[36] The king's participation in local cult made him a citizen of sorts—he became 'one of us'—but by assigning to the king the honor of performing the crucial ritual act of offering, surpassing the local (high) priest(s), the king was singled out as the city's most important citizen. The patronage of sanctuaries in the king's absence meanwhile was instrumental in the creation and upkeep of contact zones where the interaction of empire and city could take place. Amélie Kuhrt has shown that under the Achaemenids the absence of the king did not affect his legitimacy as king of Babylon: in the absence of the king a curtailed ritual could be enacted, in which perhaps a royal robe served as substitute for the king's physical presence.[37] The Akkadian *Chronicle of Seleukos III* (*BCHP* 12 = *ABC* 13B), an important but understudied cuneiform document, records for the year 224/223 BCE how the Seleukid king provided for the offerings and gave instruction to the *šatammu*—the high priest responsible for the Esagila sanctuary—for the performance of the *Akitu* rituals in his absence:[38]

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[36] Strootman 2007, 289–298.

[37] Kuhrt 1987, 49–50.

[38] *ABC* 13B; *BCHP* 12, ll. 3–9; preliminary translation by I. Finkel and R.J. van der Spek. Cf. van der Spek 1985, 557–561; Kuhrt and Sherwin-White 1993, 203.

3. [...] That month [...] a certain Babylonian, the šatammu of Esagila, provided
4. [for the x] x of Esagila, at the command of the king, in accordance with the parchment letter that the king had sent before,
5. [wit]h money from the royal treasury from his own estate 11 fat oxen, 100 fat sheep
6. (and) 11 fat ducks for the food offering within Esagila,
7. for Bēl, Bēltia,[39] and the great gods and [f]or the ritual of Ki[ng] Se[leu]kos
8. and his sons. The portions of the oxen and the sacrificial animals aforementioned
9. he designated /to\ the lamentation-priests and the šatammu. [...]

An interesting aspect of this text is that it seems to suggest that during the ritual meal following the offering the best parts of the sacrificial meat that the king had paid for are distributed among the *šatammu* and the other priests, confirming their supreme status and their enjoyment of royal favor.[40] The 'ritual for King Seleukos and his sons' mentioned in line 7 is problematic. According to van der Spek's commentary, the king in question probably is the previous ruler, the deceased Seleukos II Kallinikos, since Seleukos III ruled only briefly (from 224 to 223/222 BCE) and no sons of his have been recorded. The 'ritual' (*dullu*, an unusual word in this context) has been interpreted by some as a form of ruler cult.[41] It may also have been a regular ritual *for* Seleukos II and his sons, as van der Spek suggests, or some form of ritual connected with the death of Seleukos II, who had died some months earlier after a fall from his horse (December 225), and/or the inauguration of his successor, Seleukos III. The equally problematic lines 11–15 rev. record how a 'brother of the king' entered 'the royal city' Seleukeia on 14 Nisannu (April 13, 224 BCE) and 'the satrap of the land and the people of the land went out to meet him and a festival was held in the land' (ll. 14–15). Seleukos II's second son, the later Antiochos III, is known to have been in Babylonia in 223/222,[42] although on the Chronicle his name seems to be given as *Lu-xxx* in l. 11. As this festival takes place at the beginning of the new year 224/223 BCE, following almost immediately on the celebration of *Akitu* (4–11 Nisannu), it was perhaps a festival celebrating the new reign or even the ascendancy

39 Lit. 'Lord' and 'Lady', i.e. Marduk and his wife Sarpanitum (= Erûa).

40 The commentary of Finkel and van der Spek follows the interpretation of Joannès 2000, that the *šatammu* is accused of corruption. For the office of *šatammu* in the Hellenistic Age see van der Spek 2000.

41 For references see Sherwin-White 1983, 158, who herself argues strongly against a Seleukid ruler cult in Babylon, and Pirngruber 2010, who neither beliefs that this passage is evidence for a Greek-style ruler cult in Babylon.

42 Jer. *In Dan*. 11.10.

of Seleukos II's *two* sons, whose relationship to each other seems to have been strangely harmonious, with the elder brother Seleukos III campaigning in Anatolia and his brother Antiochos (III) acting as some kind viceroy in Babylonia supervised by the powerful *philos* Hermeias.[43]

The personal participation in Babylonian cult is documented, too, by the *Chronicle of Antiochos and Sin* (*BCHP* 5), a cuneiform tablet recording a visit of Seleukos I's son and co-ruler, Antiochos I, to Babylon in c. 287 BCE. Lines 6–12 describe how King Antiochos makes offerings in two temples of the moon god Sin:[44]

6. […] That month, the 20th day, Antiochos, the [crown] prince
7. [entered Babylon. Day 2]7, [they moved] the animals to the [east (or: west)] side (of the river) to outside regions/for putting out to pasture.
8. [Month .., ..]th [day], the crown prince at the instruction of a certain Bab[ylonian]
9. [performed] regular [offerings] for Sin of Egišnugal and Sin of Enit[enna].
10. [Antiocho]s, the son of the king, [entered] the temple of Sin of Egišnugal and in the tem[ple of Sin of Enitenna]
11. [and the s]on of the king aforementioned prostrated himself. The son of the king [provided] one sheep for the offering
12. [of Sin and he bo]wed down in the temple of Sin, Egišnugal, and in the temple of Sin, En[itenna].

This text provides us with additional information, for in line 8 obv. we read that Antiochos performed the offerings 'at the instruction of a certain Babylonian', possibly the *šatammu*.

There is an interesting parallel with 1 and especially 2 *Maccabees*, where the high priest Menelaos is accused of guiding and aiding the Seleukid king Antiochos IV in his sacrilegious acts against the cult of Yahweh in Jerusalem.

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43 Cf. Strootman 2011a, 72–74; for the entanglement of funerary and inaugural rites in the Hellenistic monarchies see Strootman 2007, 262–279.

44 Antiochos' status is given as Sumerian *DUMU LUGAL* = Akkadian *mar šarri*, i.e., a 'crown prince'. Like the other Macedonian royal houses, the Seleukid dynasty had no concept of an official *dauphin* but since the reign of Seleukos I tried to regulate the succession by appointing one son co-ruler and giving him the title of *basileus* prior to his father's death; hence the use of the title of crown prince (*mar šarri ša bît redûti*, 'the son of the king of the succession house') as the Akkadian designation for a Seleukid co-ruler (Strootman 2007, 111–114 and 296; cf. van der Spek's commentary to l. 1 obv. of *BCHP* 5 at www.livius.org, explaining that in Babylonian dating formulas the co-ruler could be called 'king' but in running texts this apparently was found inappropriate). On the Antiochos Cylinder, Seleukos, the son and co-ruler of Antiochos I, is called *Si-lu-uk-ku LUGAL DUMU-šú*, 'King Seleukos, his son', (*ANET*[3] 317 = Austin 1981, no. 189, l. ii.25). The date is given as the twentieth year of the reign of Seleukos + 5? years; the text at any rate postdates Antiochos' appointment as co-*basileus* in 292.

For instance in 2 *Macc.* 5.15 we read that 'Antiochos dared to enter the most holy temple in all the world, guided by Menelaos, who had become a traitor both to the laws and to his country'. I have elsewhere made a case that accusations of sacrilege and impiety against one's enemies are a standard element of religious conflicts, especially in civil wars, and that it is not very plausible that the official priests would willingly desecrate their own sanctuary—they in their turn probably considered the religious radicalism of the Makkabeans and their supporters as a form of heresy (but left no written records expressing their point of view).[45] I think that it is possible that these accusations go back to the actual cooperation of the priests, viz., the leading Judaean families, with the Seleukid (and before them Ptolemaic) kings in paying homage to the city god of Jerusalem, just as these kings were accustomed to doing in other cities.[46]

If participation in local cults was important, then one would expect that the movements of the court were not only determined by military rationale, logistics, and the climate, but also by the sequence of festivals celebrated at important cities and shrines. The statement in 2 *Macc.* 4.18, also cited above in the context of the outer court, that the quadrennial festival in honor of Herakles-Melkart at Tyre was celebrated in the presence of the king (Antiochos IV), points in that direction. Lines i.8–15 of the Antiochos Cylinder from Borsippa, too, seem to confirm this hypothesis:

> (…) the bricks of Esagila and Ezida in the land of Hatti with my pure hand(s) I molded with fine quality oil and for the laying of the foundation of Esagila and Ezida I transported them. In the month of Addaru, on the 20th day, of year 43, I laid the foundation of Ezida, the true temple, the temple of Nabû, which is in Borsippa.

The movement from 'the land of Hatti' (probably Syria) to Babylonia where the king laid the foundation of the Ezida temple on 20 Addaru 43 SE (=

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45 Strootman 2006. See also Honigman 2011, showing how the author of 2 *Maccabees* evokes a traditional world view to brand Antiochos IV as a 'wicked king'. Of course, *Antiochos* can have desecrated the Temple in retaliation of a perceived revolt of Jerusalem: desecration of a city's principal sanctuary by an imperial ruler as punishment for rebellion is plausible enough—and that may be exactly what happened in Jerusalem in the 160s—but the accusation that a temple is desecrated by the responsible, native priests is hardly credible, especially when this accusation is made in a political pamphlet that has the aim of legitimizing in retrospect a violent regime change, viz. the usurpation of the high priesthood by the Makkabeans.

46 The principal evidence is collected and discussed in Strootman 2007, 289–305; specifically with regard to Jerusalem see *inter alia* Joseph *AJ* 11.326–339 (Alexander the Great, a story presumably based on the entry of a Ptolemaic or Seleukid king, cf. Belenkiy 2005; Strootman 2007, 290), Joseph *AJ* 12.4 (Ptolemy I); 3 *Macc.* 1.9 (Ptolemy IV); 2 *Macc.* 4.22 (Antiochos IV).

March 27, 268 BCE) at the very end of the Babylonian year—just in time for the *Akitu* Festival, which began some time later on the fourth day of the month Nisannu (March–April)—is highly suggestive of an itinerant monarchy following a festival calendar.[47] Antiochos' claim to have personally performed two rituals, viz., the molding of the (first) bricks of the two temples in Syria and the laying down of the bricks in Borsippa and Babylon, is complemented by the fragmentary *Ruin of Esagila Chronicle*, an undated cuneiform document attesting the personal involvement in building activities at the Esagila temple in Babylon of an unnamed Seleukid ruler (*BCHP* 6).[48] I quote only lines 2–9 of the new translation by Finkel and van der Spek:

2. [.. .. ..] to Babylon
3. wi[th?? .. ..] .. .. of Bel [= Marduk]
4. to the Bab[ylon]ians (of) [the assembly of Esa]gila he [gav]e and an offering
5. on the ruin of /Esagila\ they?! [arran]ged. On the ruin
6. of Esagila he fell. Oxen [and] an offering according in the Greek fashion
7. he made. The son of the king, his [troop]s, his wagons,
8. (and) ⟨his⟩ elephants removed the debris of Esagila.
9. /x x\ on the empty lot of Esagila they ate. […]

The actual participation of Seleukid kings in the *Akitu* Festival is evidenced by a fragmentary astronomical diary from the reign of Antiochos III (223/222–186 BCE) that was first published in 1989. The tablet is dated to April 6, 205 BCE, the second day of *Akitu*, and it records: 'That [month,] on the 8th (day), King Antiochos and the […] went out (from) the palace to the gate … of Esagila … […] of Esagila he made before them. Offerings to (?) […] Marduk-etir … […] of their descendants (?) were set, entered the Akitu Temple […] made [sacrifices for] Ishtar of Babylon and the life of King Antiochos […]'.[49]

There is more cuneiform evidence of the presence of the king and his entourage in Babylon (see below). Although it is of course impossible to ascertain how often exactly Seleukid royals visited Babylon, the evidence

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[47] For the dates of *Akitu* see Cohen 1993, 300–353.

[48] Only the obverse of the tablet is legible. The ruler is identified in l. 7 obv. as a co-ruler (*DUMU LUGAL* / *mar šarri*, 'crown prince'). The 'offerings in the Greek fashion' made by Greeks occur also in the *End of Seleukos Chronicle* (280 BCE; *BCHP* 9 = *ABC* 12) and the *Invasion of Ptolemaios III Chronicle* (246/5 BCE; *BCHP* 11).

[49] Sachs and Hunger 1989, no. 204 C, ll. 14–18 rev.; Kuhrt and Sherwin-White 1993, 130–131; cf. the diary fragment cited on pp. 202–203, where a Seleukid general (*lúGAL.ERIN*) makes offerings to Bēl, Bēltiya, and Ishtar of Babylon in the *Akitu* Temple (Sachs and Hunger 1989, no. 171), and the diary cited on p. 216 recording how Antiochos III participates in what probably is the *Akitu* Festival in 188/187 BCE (Sachs and Hunger 1989, no. 187, ll. 4–18 rev.).

from Babylon attesting to the presence of the royal court is actually better than for Antioch in the third century. From this evidence it may be assumed that the imperial court was in the region quite often, as is also likely given the great prestige that Babylon still had at that time, the proximity of the 'royal city' Seleukeia on the Tigris, and the geopolitical centrality of Babylonia within the Seleukid Empire.

Shifting Social Imaginaries in Hellenistic Babylon

The evidence discussed in the previous section suggests that in Babylon encounters between empire and city took place above all in the religious sphere, and that this is where we may locate the processes of negotiation between the court and the city's oligarchy. It follows that the chief intermediaries representing the city were the priests, led by the *šatammu*. As was theorized at the beginning of this paper, both of the parties involved will have tried to persuade the other by appealing to what they perceive to be the values and practices of those others. As Charles Taylor has pointed out, such discourses and modifications will inevitably be followed by the social imaginary of those involved.[50] So can we indeed see new meanings and practices arise from a process of adoption and alteration of the values and practices of the Seleukid court through the agency of those who had dealings with the court (viz., the Babylonian priestly elite)? Due to a lack of personal documents it is not possible to ascertain the worldview even of aristocratic Babylonians of the Hellenistic period. But the relatively rich cuneiform material does give two clues.

First, we do know fairly well (also from some Greek sources) that members of the Babylonian (priestly) elite cultivated some kind of multiple identity, i.e. to assume different socio-cultural roles that were respectively local and imperial, viz., Babylonian and Greek.[51] The assumption of both a Greek and a Babylonian personal name is the clearest indication of this 'biculturality'. People's adoption of some of the self-defining aspects of Greek ethnicity to suggest an 'imperial' identity, can have been purely situational, i.e., that it is done specifically for the sake of communication with the imperial court,

50 Taylor 2004, 23–30.

51 Cf. Strootman 2007, 130–131 for the 'imperial' aspect; on multiple identity (or 'biculturality') see Burke 2009, esp. 90–93 and 111–112, who describes this type of identity as 'participating in world culture but retaining a local culture'; on ethnic identity in Hellenistic Babylonia see esp. van der Spek 2009.

whereas in a purely local, Babylonian context a 'native' Babylonian persona was maintained. I hold that it is more plausible, however, that these spheres were not so strictly separated and that elements of the imperial identity were also espoused in the local context, because the adoption of elements of a global elite culture expressed one's affiliation with the empire, with elites in other cities, and thereby presumably improved one's status locally. Modern instances of biculturality suggest that a strict separation of the respective cultural roles, especially among immigrants (e.g. a 'German' identity in the public sphere versus a 'Turkish' identity in the private sphere) is extremely difficult to sustain, and that sooner or later 'the divisions between spheres in the "double life" will melt away'.[52]

This leads us to the second indication: the appearance in the second century BCE of 'Greek' *polis* institutions in Babylon. I will briefly review the most pertinent sources.

In several astronomical diaries and chronicles, mention is made of *politai*, Greek-style citizens. Whether these 'Greeks' were local people who became Greeks of sorts, just like the 'Hellenizing' Jews in 1 and 2 *Maccabees*, or 'real' Greeks (whatever that means), must remain an open question.[53] And like the Hellenizers in Jerusalem, these *politai* do Greek things. In the *Greek Community Chronicle* (*BCHP* 14, 163 BCE), the *politai* (*pulitanu*, ll. 2 and 9 obv.) 'anoint themselves with oil just like the *politai* who are in Seleukeia, the royal city' (ll. 4–5 obv.). In addition to this probable link of Greek-style citizenship with activities in a *gymnasion*, the *politai* of Babylon possibly disposed of a *boulē*, too (l. 10 obv.).[54] This document furthermore claims that the privileged community of *politai* had previously been established by a King Antiochos (III or IV).

More pertinent to the present discussion is the *Diary of the Messengers of the Politai*. In ll. 3–7 of this fragmentary astronomical diary of unknown date

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52 Burke 2009, 112.

53 Cf. Blok 2005, showing that in Late Classical Athens the term *politēs* acquired the specific meaning of having the rights and duties of the *polis*, in contrast to the previously nearly identical *astos*, which now meant being a citizen by descent. The first certain Babylonian rendering of *politai* occurs in the *Politai Chronicle* (*BCHP* 13), dated to 172/1 BCE, but possibly earlier in the astronomical diary mentioning Antiochos III's visit to the *Akitu* House in 187 BCE (Boiy 2004, 204–209); according to van der Spek (1987, 65–70; 2005) the 'Greek community' in Babylon was established around 173/2 BCE (see also below).

54 For more cultural 'boundary markers' of the *politai* community in Babylon consult van der Spek 2009. The presence of a *gymnasion* in Hellenistic Babylon is attested in a document from the early Parthian Period, the so-called *Gymnasion Inscription* of the later second century BCE (see below).

the *politai* of Babylon appear in connection with the high priest of Esagila *and* the Seleukid *stratēgos*, who resided in Seleukeia on the Tigris:

3. [……] entered^sg. That day, the *šatammu* x[……]
4. [……] together with their troops with the tr[oops??.....]
5. [……] *the satrap of*] Akkad, the *šatammu* of Esagila x [……]
6. [……] the messengers of the *polit*[*ai* .....]
7. [……] Seleukeia, the cities and x [……][55]

This brings me to presume that the Greek community consisted, at least in part, of the 'Hellenized' upper echelon of Babylonian society. The introduction of a body of *politai* into Babylon by Antiochos III or IV that the *Greek Community Chronicle* speaks of was not the wholesale implantation of a prefabricated body of pure Greeks to Babylon, but the royally sanctioned establishment among the Babylonian citizenry of a *politeuma* of citizens who had the rights and duties of the members of a *polis* (and who did Greek things like competing in a *gymnasion*), such as already existed in cities like Seleukeia or Antiocheia. Where would, this late in Seleukid history, real ethnic Greeks have come from? From Greece? It is furthermore puzzling that the Greek community of Seleukid Babylon has left no Greek epigraphic traces; the earliest Greek record we know of is the *Gymnasion Inscription* from the early Parthian period (110/109 BCE), listing victors in athletic contexts: there is a gymnasiarch, there are ephebes and *neoi*, and all the victors have Greek personal names.[56] But half of the victors bear theophoric names, which may mean that these names are translations of Babylonian personal names.[57] Royal decrees such as the establishment of a body of *politai* have only been preserved indirectly on astronomical diaries and in cuneiform chronicles written in old Akkadian, a cultural signifier for the Babylonian elite.[58] Even though there is circumstantial evidence for the use of the Greek language in Babylon—Berossos wrote in Greek and the Stoic philosopher Diogenes of Babylon presumably was a 'native' Babylonian—wholly absent is that other key signifier of ethnic identity: religion. No archaeological

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55 *BM* 34434, unpublished; cited from the preliminary translation by Finkel and van der Spek at www.livius.org.

56 Haussoullier 1909, 352–353, no. 1; *SEG* 7.39.

57 Kuhrt and Sherwin-White 1993, 157–158; van der Spek 2005, 406–407. It is perhaps no coincidence that three of the four gods invoked by these names—Apollo-Nabû, Artemis-Nanaya, and Dio/Zeus-Marduk/Bēl—are principal imperial deities promoted by the former imperial dynasty; the parents of the ephebes and *neoi* were all born under Seleukid rule, which ended only 30 years before this document was created.

58 Joannès 2009.

remains of Greek or Greek-style cult have ever been unearthed in Babylon. In a recent article on the ethnicity of the *politai*, van der Spek leaves open the possibility that Greek sanctuaries may be discovered in the Homera district of Babylon, the neighborhood where also a theater from the late third century was found, and draws attention to the fact that the Babylonian astronomical diaries 'often report that newly appointed "governors of Babylon" were "one of the *politai*" and that these newly appointed governors made offerings in the Esagila, the temple of the Babylonian supreme deity, to the Babylonian gods'. But this should make us wary of thinking in terms of ethnic segregation rather than surmising that 'the Babylonian temple was considered to be a main sanctuary for the Greek community *as well*' (my emphasis).[59]

To sum up, whether or not Greek colonists migrated to, or were settled in, Babylon must at the present state of our knowledge remain an open question. But it is safe to assume that in Hellenistic Babylon 'Greek' was first a cultural and socio-political construct. And although there were cultural boundaries demarcating the Babylonian *politai* as a social group, these boundaries were permeable and the *politai* must at least partly have consisted of 'native' Babylonians.

Meanwhile we do have another, notorious, case of a Seleukid king's acknowledgment of the *polis* rights of a 'Hellenized' non-Greek citizen body: the account in 1 and 2 *Maccabees* of the institutionalization, in the reign of Antiochos IV, of a community of *politai* in Jerusalem, named 'Antiochenes' after the king.[60] Precisely because of the hostile treatment they receive, it is clear that these 'Hellenizers' represent a segment of the fiercely divided elite, namely that part of the Judaean aristocracy that derived its political dominance from cooperation with the empire, viz., its good relations with the court.[61] The books of the *Maccabees* also inform us that in Hellenistic Jerusalem the upper echelon of the elite consisted of land-owning priestly families.[62] And notwithstanding their apparent assumption of an imperial identity through partial Hellenization—Droysen's concept of *Hellenismus* was not without reason based on their activities—they also retained a distinct Judaean identity, especially in the field of religion. Just as in Babylon,

59 van der Spek 2009, 110–111. On the Seleukid 'Governor of Babylon' (*pāhāt Bābili*) see Boiy 2004, 207.

60 1 *Macc.* 11–15; 2 *Macc.* 4.9.

61 Strootman 2006.

62 Cf. i.a. 1 *Macc.* 2.1.

no Greek temples are known to have existed in Jerusalem, where the cult of Yahweh retained its place of central importance. The fact that the sanctuary on the Temple Mount was rededicated to Zeus Olympios (or, more literally, to *Dios Olympios*, 2 *Macc.* 6.2) proves the point.[63]

In conclusion I would tentatively suggest that if Babylonian social imaginaries were shifting under new influences in the early Hellenistic period, as they probably were, the result was a new elite culture in which Greek institutions and Babylonian culture interacted and went hand in hand with religious developments that were taking place, too, as a result of the interaction of the Babylonian elite within the global context of empire.

The Antiochos Cylinder from Borsippa, Again

At the beginning of this paper it was suggested that the rhetoric of power on the Borsippa Cylinder of Antiochos I was only superficially *traditional* Babylonian. Although old Babylonian formulas of universal kingship were used—Great King (*LUGAL GAL-Ú*), King of Countries (*LUGAL KUR.KUR*), *et cetera*—it is doubtful that this was done to appease the Babylonians by appealing to their traditions. As the new imperial dynasty in a Near East that had been accustomed to the ontological notion of a unified world under a single Great King for many centuries, the Seleukids had no choice but to present themselves as the rulers of totality.[64] Their Assyrian, Babylonian, and Persian predecessors had done so in the past; their Parthian, Sasanian, Byzantine, Ummayad, Abbasid, and Ottoman successors would do so in the future. Making universalistic claims is a standard element of imperial ideology from China to pre-Columbian America, and is closely connected with the *practice* of empire.[65] The paradigm of continuity will not help us understand that phenomenon.

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63 Zeus, the principal god of what may called the 'Seleukid Imperial Trinity', further consisting of Artemis and Apollo, was (like Artemis and Apollo) regularly associated with various local cults that were patronized by the Seleukid court, cf. e.g. Lichtenberger 2008; Zeus Olympios was especially favored by Antiochos IV Epiphanes and later Seleukid kings of his line; on Antiochos' preference for Zeus and Zeus' syncretic nature see Zahle 1990, connecting this with the growing importance of local cults for sky gods who could be better associated with Zeus than with Apollo in the later Seleukid Near East; against the idea of a special connection between Epiphanes and Zeus see Mittag 2006, 139–145, with many bibliographical references.

64 Strootman 2013b.

65 Sinopoli 1994; Pagden 1995; Bang 2011.

Of relevance, too, is Antiochos' self-presentation as simultaneously a Macedonian and a Babylonian king in the Cylinder's opening lines:

4. Foremost son of Seleukos, the king,
5. the Macedonian, King of Babylon,
6. am I. [...]

To be sure, the designation 'the Macedonian' (^{lú}*Ma-ak-ka-du-na-a-a*) may also refer to Antiochos' father, Seleukos; but that would still indicate that the king identified himself as a Macedonian, too.[66] Antiochos' claim that he is Babylon's king is not at odds with the claim that he is universal ruler: the position of local king is naturally taken by the emperor. The emphasis on his Macedonian identity, in combination with the special respect for Babylon expressed throughout the text, characterizes Antiochos as both an outsider and an insider.[67] It is evidence of an awareness of the entanglement of the global and the local. The two worlds are connected in the *Akitu* cult, where the imperial ruler legitimately takes on the role of a local king.

It seems safe to assume that the agents who informed the court about Babylonian monarchical-religious practices were representatives of the Babylonian priesthood. The example of Berossos—who wrote a well-informed but Greek-style history of Babylon, in Greek, for Antiochos I—shows that such connections existed and that there were Babylonians who had mastered Greek only one generation after the Macedonian conquest. But the Cylinder carries also the marks of external influences. The Ezida, the temple of Nabû in Borsippa, is constantly connected with the Esagila, the temple of Marduk in Babylon. Nabû is singled out as Marduk's 'foremost son' (l. ii.22). Both Kyle Erickson and Paul Kosmin have recently argued that Antiochos singled out Nabû's cult as the main object of his religious patronage in Babylonia because he identified Nabû with the Seleukid tutelary deity, Apollo.[68] This led to a new prominence of the Ezida temple in Borsippa, which had been neglected in the previous period, and a new prominence of Nabû in the *Akitu* cult. Kosmin rightly argues that the Cylinder 'made use of a deeply-embedded Babylonian tradition of building inscriptions and royal

66 *Pace* Kuhrt and Sherwin-White 1991, 83, who characteristically force the material into the postcolonial paradigm by claiming that Antiochos' self-representation as a Macedonian is a continuation of 'the titulary of their Persian predecessors, whose imperial style was so influential in the formation and articulation of the Hellenistic monarchies'.

67 Note that with his Macedonian identity Antiochos distances himself from the Greeks as well.

68 Teixidor 1990; Dirven 1997. Erickson 2011 argues that the association of Apollo and Nabû is also apparent from the iconography of Antiochos' coins; cf. Erickson 2009.

Fig. 11. Antiochos I. Silver tetradrachm from Seleukeia on the Tigris, showing a seated Apollo on the reverse. Courtesy of the Classical Numismatic Group.

rituals, but it elaborated these within the framework of a genuinely Seleucid imperial program'.[69]

If this is true, as I think it is, it shows that the Seleukids did not simply conform to tradition at the instruction of local agents, but actively created tradition by manipulating cult practices to suit their own objective, viz., the creation of cohesion by the systematic patronage of local cult throughout the empire, especially of indigenous deities that could be associated with the principal imperial deities Apollo, Artemis, and Zeus. From the reign of Antiochos an association of Apollo with the reigning king was constantly propagated, notably on coins (Fig. 11).

It can therefore hardly have been a coincidence that on the Borsippa Cylinder Nabû and Antiochos are each presented as their respective fathers' 'foremost son'. Given the prominence of the queen mother at the Hellenistic courts, a result of the practice of polygamy and the absence of primogeniture in the Macedonian royal houses,[70] the prominence of Nabû's mother Erûa, 'the queen who creates offspring', is of significance, too. But here the association points towards the future: a perfect mirror image is created of, on the one hand, Marduk, his wife Erûa, and their 'foremost son' Nabû, and, on the other hand, king Antiochos, his consort Stratonike, and the (at that

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[69] Kosmin forthcoming; I am grateful for an advance text. For an overview of the archaeological backdrop of the continuity—'or perhaps more accurately the revival'—of Mesopotamian cults under the Seleukids, see Downey 1988, 7–15 (Babylon) and 15–47 (Uruk); cf. Baker in this volume.

[70] Ogden 1999.

time) foremost son, viz., heir apparent Seleukos (ll. ii.24–27).[71] Erûa is a manifestation of Marduk's divine consort Sarpanitum as a goddess of pregnancy and childbirth; this form may have been used to underline the association of the three Babylonian gods with the Seleukid 'Reigning Triad' of king/father, queen/mother and heir/son.[72]

Conclusion

In this paper, written evidence from Babylon has been used for a case study of the connectivity of the global and the local as a parallel to the connectivity of the imperial and the civic. It was argued that the contact zone where the imperial court and the civic elite interacted was the sphere of religion. This was an international phenomenon. The Seleukids approached other communities, too, by protecting and actively participating in local cults, utilizing the entanglement of 'sacred' and 'secular' that is so peculiar to the Ancient World.[73] Meeting in sacred spaces dedicated to a particular deity perhaps allowed that deity to be involved in the decision-making, as Hugh Bowden suggested for inter-Greek negotiations in the Classical Period.[74]

The Seleukids not only structured negotiations and relationships with civic elites through the patronage of indigenous sanctuaries and the (often personal) participation in civic cults, they also actively encouraged syncretism between those cults as a strategy to integrate the local into the empire. A fascinating aspect of this interaction is that local, Babylonian agents must have been actively involved in the translation of supranational, imperial ideology into the local rhetoric of religion and monarchy (instead of the other way round, as conventional historiography claims).

Far from simply adopting pre-existing traditions and conforming to varying local expectations, the Seleukids sought to integrate into their system of imperial control culturally diverse peoples by (a) consistently patronizing sanctuaries dedicated to deities that could be associated

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71 King Antiochos later regretted his choice and had Seleukos executed (Just. *Epit.* 26, *Prol.* 7–9; cf. Boiy 2004, 144–145); the new co-*basileus* and successor of Antiochos I Soter was Antiochos II Theos.

72 The term 'Reigning Triad' is used by McAuley 2011, 18–23, to describe the harmonious union of king, queen and heir in the third century-Seleukid propaganda.

73 Cf. Bowden 1990, 68, with further literature.

74 Bowden 1990, 67 and 174: 'By approaching a *polis* through its sanctuary, the ambassador or supplicant can be seen to be making his request to the gods of the *polis* as well as the mortal inhabitants; […] The citizens themselves will have seen the gods as part of the *polis*'.

with the imperial gods Apollo and Artemis (and their father Zeus), and (b) by cultivating an umbrella culture of empire that connected civic elites of manifold cultural backgrounds. This overarching imperial culture was in essence 'Hellenistic'—or rather: *Seleukid*—because it preferred Greek cultural forms. Local elites adopted and adapted elements of the culture of the court to express their allegiance to the empire and to better communicate with the empire.

Thus, the Seleukids manipulated tradition by associating local cults with imperial ideology, subtly altering practices and values in close collaboration with local agents, who must have gained considerable advantages from that. Instead of a process of creative misunderstanding, the Babylonian material reveals a process of negotiation, of creative adaptation. Both parties involved in civic-imperial negotiations will have looked for a 'Middle Ground' of congruencies to achieve desired ends.[75]

We see therefore a converse process of cultural translation taking place in the partial adaptation by the Babylonian elite of the practices and values of the imperial elite. This argument in favor of a partial 'Hellenization' of the elite is not meant to reintroduce the Hellenocentric view of a unidirectional flow from a sending culture to a culture of receivers, and neither to endorse the conceptualization of Hellenism as a simple 'merging' of cultures (as it was originally conceived by Droysen). Instead, I propose to understand the elements of Greek style and Greek material culture that were adopted by local cultures as 'international style', which contemporaries initially considered to be *imperial*. It was what Bob Dylan in his autobiography *Chronicles* observed about his role as a Roman soldier in a Christmas play in school: '[It was] a nonspeaking role, but it didn't matter. I felt like a star. I liked the costume. It felt like a nerve tonic […]. As a Roman soldier I felt like a part of everything, in the center of the planet, invincible'.[76]

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75 Cf. Malkin 2002, 153.
76 Dylan 2004, 125.

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A RELIGIOUS CONTINUITY BETWEEN THE DYNASTIC AND PTOLEMAIC PERIODS? SELF-REPRESENTATION AND IDENTITY OF EGYPTIAN PRIESTS IN THE PTOLEMAIC PERIOD (332–30 BCE)

Gilles Gorre

For many Greek and Roman visitors to Egypt, the continuity of religious life between the Pharaonic and Hellenistic periods seemed obvious. The same can be said for modern visitors, since most of the Egyptian temples still preserved today were built during the Ptolemaic period. However, during the Ptolemaic period, the social composition of the priesthood in Egyptian temples underwent a sweeping change due to the increasing control of the temples by the royal administration. This transformative process can be traced only by analyzing specific sources, such as statues and funerary monuments of priests, which demonstrate modes of self-representation and best reflect the identity of their respective dedicants.[1] In contrast to official documents (royal or sacerdotal decrees) in which the priesthood usually appears as a community of anonymous priests, we obtain concrete information on the family origin or the precise functions of these priests through self-referential material.[2]

The available material allows a chronological distinction between two phases, each characterized by the use of a distinct mode of priestly self-representation. In the first phase, which coincides with the first century of Macedonian domination, the emphasis was on establishing a relationship between Macedonian power and the priesthood, which in fact did not require a major shift in the self-representation of the Egyptian priests. This general picture can be refined through a further division into two sub-phases: the first, from 343 to 270 BCE, can be classified as a phase of continuity for the Egyptian priesthood despite the extensive political changes; in the second sub-phase, i.e. during the reigns of Ptolemaios II and Ptolemaios III

1 Baines 2004.

2 Owing to the limitations in the sources, only priests holding positions of primary importance will be considered.

(284–246 BCE and 246–222 BCE), institutional interactions between kings and priests can be observed as a consequence of several reforms.

The second phase can likewise be divided in two sub-phases: a) from the battle of Raphia (217 BCE) to the reign of Ptolemaios VIII Euergetes II (145–116 BCE), when soldiers and civil officials entered the temples, and b) after 125 BCE, when the majority of the temples were headed by royal officials.[3] Little documentation survives from the period between the end of the third century and the last quarter of the second century.[4] In contrast, after 125 BCE there was an increase in the number of monuments set up by those who were heads of the Egyptian temples. These priests are not connected with the priestly families known in the third century and the mode of their self-representation is totally different.

The study of the family background of the priests will be pursued first on the basis of their 'ethnic' affiliation (Egyptian, Greek, or Graeco-Egyptian),[5] and, additionally, on the basis of their family links to the priesthood and the local temples. The nature of priestly functions can be determined by defining the connection between service to the local divinity and service to the Macedonian kings. In this regard it is important to note the different contexts in which Egyptian priests operate, such as serving exclusively a local deity, initiating the dynastic cult in a local temple and exercising local authority in the king's name or even performing public functions (territorial and financial administration, military officialdom, or both).

From 343 BCE to 270 BCE: A Period of Continuity for the Egyptian Priesthoods despite Extensive Political Changes

The first period is characterized by political changes, from the last Egyptian dynasty, the Nectanebids (XXXth Dynasty, 383–343 BCE), during the second Persian domination (343–332 BCE) and the beginning of the Macedonian Period, down to the reign of Ptolemaios II and the establishment of the Ptolemaic dynastic cult (c. 270 BCE).

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[3] This is the case especially in the south of the country. For the north of the country the documentation is insufficient, yet the situation seems to have been the same.

[4] It is difficult to determine whether this is due to an impoverishment of the priesthood at these times or to archaeological coincidence.

[5] Strictly speaking, the Graeco-Egyptians constitute a cultural rather than an ethnic group. See below example 7.

However, this period is also marked by continuity concerning the leading families of the Egyptian temples.[6] Throughout this period, old priestly families, appointed by the Nectanebids or an earlier dynasty, headed the temples and their inscriptions show respect for the kings of the XXth Dynasty. Nevertheless, these priests consistently presented themselves as servants of the gods who granted them authority over temples and society. This insistence on the gods as the source of the priests' authority can be observed in inscriptions dating from the period when foreigners, first the Persians and later the Greeks, dominated the country. Previously, this same characteristic attitude of the Egyptian priests occurred when the royal power collapsed.[7]

In private inscriptions, Persian rule is mentioned with reservation, since the Achaemenids were never considered true Pharaohs but were seen as foreign rulers wielding control over Egypt.[8] Yet, although sources document difficulties, the relationship between the priests and the Persians seems on the whole to have been good.[9]

The Macedonians are not clearly described as Pharaohs in the sources. The temporal power of the new rulers was accepted, but the priests usurped royal prerogatives, especially in the celebration of rituals and in the direction of the building and restoration of the temples.[10] The beginning of the Macedonian era was a difficult time for the temples, since the country experienced military occupation.[11] Further, the relationship between the satrap Ptolemaios and the temples is not clear.[12] When he became king as Ptolemaios, son of Lagos (305 BCE), he considered himself a *basileus* and not an Egyptian king. Thus, it is very doubtful that he was crowned as Pharaoh.[13]

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6 The same continuity is attested in Babylonia in the beginning of the Hellenistic period, see the papers of H.D. Baker and R. Strootman in this volume.

7 Rössler-Köhler 1991, 23–26, 375.

8 The Achaemenid king was referred to as 'the chief of the foreign countries' or the 'chief of Asia'.

9 Huß 1997, 131–143.

10 Cf. the example of Petosiris, high priest of Hermopolis: Gorre 2009, 176–193 (no. 39).

11 Turner 1974, 239–242.

12 The documentation is scarce. The most famous document, the satrap stela, cannot be considered as a proof of the generally good relationship between the Macedonian power and the Egyptian priesthood: the context is strictly limited to a single case, see Gorre 2009, 485–493; on the satrap stela, see Schäfer 2009, 143–152; 2011, 74–83.

13 Before Ptolemaios, son of Lagos, the Pharaonic coronation of Alexander the Great is attested by Ps.-Callisth. *Hist. Alex. Magn.* 1.34.2. The reality of this coronation is denied by Burstein 1991, 139–145, considered possible by Thompson 1988, 106, and accepted by Huß 1994, 52; 2001, 58, 215.

The lack of close relationships between Ptolemaios Lagos and the Egyptian elite could be illustrated by the hieroglyphic inscription on the back of the statue of the anonymous elder son of the last Egyptian king, Nectanebo II (*Example 1*).[14] The statue was found in the ruins of the Isaion of Sebennytos, the most important temple of Isis in the Delta.

> The beloved of Pharaoh [*sc.* Nectanebo II], the one who is faithful to his father, expressing his opinion only advisedly, giving good answers […]
>
> […] in my building works for the goddess [*sc.* the temple of Isis where the statue was found]. As I was among the foreign peoples, she gave me the respect of the great Asian King [*sc.* the Achaemenid king]. As a Greek [*sc.* the satrap Ptolemaios] was in the palace, thanks to her, I returned to Egypt.

Nectanebo's elder son was sent to Persia after Artaxerxes III's conquest of Egypt. His status as a royal hostage involved the Great King. In the inscription, Artaxerxes was clearly considered a foreigner, but also acknowledged as a king.

After the Macedonian conquest, Nectanebo's son returned to Egypt, together with other fellow countrymen.[15] However, although the inscription is incomplete, it is possible to conclude that he had no direct interaction with the new rulers. The 'Greek' mentioned in the inscription is not exactly referred to as a pharaonic ruler.

Following the Macedonian takeover, the activity of this member of the former royal family of the Nectanebids was now limited to the Isaion, continuing an old family tradition. Thus, our man's career was now ruled by the local deity, and not by the king. As the similar fate of contemporary men shows, temples seem to have been shelters for the members of the former royal court at the beginning of the Macedonian period.[16]

However, the temples were also affected by the difficulties of the times as shown by the hieroglyphic inscription engraved on the statue of Teos 'the Saviour' (*Example 2*).[17] Teos headed one of the most important temples in the Delta at the beginning of the Macedonian era. After his death, he was worshiped as a tutelary deity of temples in difficulties. His monument was used for libations and the water, which was poured on the statue, became holy.

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14 Gorre, 2009, 378–380 (no. 74).
15 Cf. also the example of Samtoutephnachtès: Gorre 2009, 210–215 (no. 42).
16 See Gorre 2009, 501–502.
17 Gorre 2009, 353–364 (no. 70).

I made offerings in the temple and I fought for saving them from the foreigners of the Northern countries [*sc.* Greece]

I found numerous houses of foreign soldiers [*sc.* the Macedonian army] inside the *temenos*. I gave to their owners money and lands at the east of the temple as an indemnity to rebuild their houses. They built [their] houses again in desecrating the *temenos* in an even more blatant way. I had erased the houses and relocated them near the river in the south of the Athribite nome.

The living perfect god, Lord of Egypt, '…', son of Ra, Philippos, everlasting, loved by Horus, lord and master of the Athribite nome.

The inscriptions of Teos refer to problems which are also documented in various other sources:[18] the housing of the Macedonian army entailed the desecration of temples; soldiers set up their camp within the temples' walls, plundering them and mistreating the priests. After an initial failure, Teos finally succeeded in driving the soldiers out. The indemnities he made to the soldiers were probably paid out of the temple's treasury. Although Teos acted on his own initiative, the inscriptions designate Philippos Arrhidaios as a Pharaoh. However, the royal titulature of Philippos Arrhidaios is incomplete: the first royal name, in the first cartouche, is missing.[19] The personal identity of the king seemed less important than his function. Whereas the legal framework of Pharaonic kingship was maintained, the priesthood does not seem to have had genuine personal and institutional contacts with the new power.

The Reigns of Ptolemaios II and Ptolemaios III (284–246 and 246–222 BCE): A Time of Reforms and the Beginning of Institutional Interactions between Kings and Priests

Thoroughgoing reforms took place after the death of Arsinoe II (ca. 270 BCE), Ptolemaios II's sister and wife.[20] Arsinoe II was deified as *Philadelphos*, and

[18] Thiers 1995, 493–516; Chauveau and Thiers 2006, 375–404.

[19] The Egyptian priests designated Philippos Arrhidaios as Pharaoh in different ways, cf. de Meulenare 1991, 54.

[20] For the chronology see Cadell 1998, 1–4.

her cult instigated a successful dynastic cult,[21] whose establishment was associated with a monetary and fiscal reform in 264/263 BCE.[22] In less than ten years, Ptolemaios II formed the foundations of the relationship between priesthood and Ptolemaic rulers.

According to Ptolemaios II's reforms, the temples were to receive part of the taxes on vineyards and gardens known as the *apomoira*,[23] on the condition that the cults to the rulers as *synnaoi theoi* of the local deities would be set up in the various temples of the country. Through these measures, the temples became dependent on the Ptolemaic ruler as far as their financial resources were concerned. Moreover, a new priestly personnel emerged, in charge both of introducing the dynastic cult and managing the *apomoira*. This new personnel was composed of priests who owed their new positions in temples exclusively to their links with the king and thus were not related to the old families.

The hieroglyphic epitaph of Esisout-Petobastis, the first Ptolemaic High Priest of Ptah, god of the old Pharaonic capital, Memphis, allows us to understand how the Ptolemies installed the dynastic cult by establishing a new family at the head of the Egyptian temples (*Example 3*):[24]

> I directed the building works in the temple of Ptah during 23 years, without faults. I had been chosen by the king [*sc.* Ptolemaios II] and his friends (*philoi*).
>
> My master manifested his favour to me again, and asked me to be the prophet of Philotera, the royal sister, royal daughter.
>
> My master manifested his favour to me again by giving me his seal for the great office of prophet of the royal daughter, royal sister, the royal wife, the daughter of Amon-Ra, the mistress of Egypt, Arsinoe, the goddess Philadelphos, Isis, the mother of Apis.
>
> I enjoyed the favour of the king; he passed on my office to my successors.

Esisout-Petobastis belonged to a humble family that was not associated with the old sacerdotal families. He was appointed by Ptolemaios II as High Priest of Memphis[25] and was responsible for the introduction of the cult of the

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21 Just before Arsinoe II, the princess Philotera was worshipped, but her cult quickly disappeared.

22 Agut and Gorre forthcoming.

23 See Clarysse and Vandorpe 1998, 5–42.

24 Gorre, 2009, 285–296 (no. 59).

25 The charge of High Priest of Ptah was originally created during the New Kingdom (1550–1100 BCE) and disappeared ca. 900 BCE: cf. Maystre 1992.

deified Arsinoe II in the temples. His authority was nominally extended to all the country with the title of 'first prophet and leader of the priests of all the temples of Egypt'. His direct successor and son, Annôs, was in charge of the 'royal insignia' and so may quite likely have been responsible for the Pharaonic coronation of the Ptolemies.[26] This family maintained its important position until the end of the Ptolemaic period.

Esisout-Petobastis was the representative of the Macedonian King in the temples, as his possession of the royal seal shows. However, neither Esisout nor the High Priests of Ptah who succeeded him were considered to be royal officials. In the inscription, Esisout-Petobastis is clearly distinguished from the *philoi*, who held positions in the army and the territorial and fiscal administrations. What is equally clear is that he was dependent on the royal administration, in particular in fiscal matters.

In each Egyptian temple, the local priest in charge of the dynastic cult also had a prominent rank, even though he did not belong to the old priestly families. This can be illustrated by the hieroglyphic inscriptions on two statues of Senou found in the temple of Koptos (*Example 4*).[27] Senou held a modest position within the local priestly hierarchy, but was in charge of the establishment of the dynastic cult.

> I rebuilt what I found in ruins in the temple; I set up the cult of the [royal] statues.
>
> I accomplished that which she [*sc.* Isis] wishes, by setting up the statues of the king of Egypt, Ptolemaios, everlasting, and the statues of the queen [*sc.* Arsinoe II].
>
> The king honoured me for my eloquence, I fulfilled the orders of the king.

In Koptos, Senou played a role on a local level similar to that of the High Priest of Ptah for the whole country: he initiated the dynastic cult, he erected the statues of the rulers and restored the temple. Consequently, the source of the authority he enjoyed in the temple derived not from his family background, but from his services to the Ptolemaic ruler cult.[28]

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[26] Gorre 2009, 302–303.
[27] Gorre 2009, 103–118 (no. 27).
[28] Gorre 2009, 113–118 *contra* Derchain 2000, 16, 22–31, 44–53, who considers Senou an important Alexandrian dignitary, followed by Moyer 2011, 20–26.

From the Battle of Raphia (217 BCE) to the Reign of Ptolemaios VIII Euergetes II (145–116 BCE): Soldiers and Civil Officials Entered the Temples

Until the end of the third century BCE, civil and military administrators were always Greek. There was a clear distinction made between the Egyptian priesthood and the representatives of the Ptolemaic rulers. During the second century the situation changes in a twofold fashion: Greeks entered the temples and Egyptians were integrated into the royal administration.

Between the end of the third and the beginning of the second centuries BCE, Greek soldiers and civil officials began appearing as heads of temples. They constituted a new group of personnel, with few family links with the local priestly families. Two reasons may explain their new positions in the temples: a) the Egyptian priests needed powerful protectors and hence, welcomed royal officials into the midst of the local priesthood; their behaviour may be compared to that of the *poleis* which granted citizenship to Hellenistic kings and their representatives throughout the Greek world;[29] b) garrisons and royal administrative officials were settled in the temples and used the buildings in the enclosure of the temples for civil or military purposes.[30]

Likewise, the families of scribes in charge of the religious administration were superseded by Egyptian scribes writing in Greek and linked to the royal administration during this period.[31] Taken together, these changes evince the wide-ranging efforts of the royal administration to replace the personnel traditionally linked to the temples with officials dependent on the king.[32] These Hellenized Egyptians had quickly occupied important functions in the Ptolemaic administration. However, this 'Hellenization' did not imply the decline of the local religion. On the contrary, the Egyptian temples were promoted and patronized by the 'Hellenized' Egyptian royal administrators. Their attitude towards the temples can be inferred mostly from professional reasons—they entered the temples of their district as the Greek military or civil administrators once did—, but personal or

[29] Heinen 2000, 123–153.

[30] Clarysse 1999, 41–61; Dietze 2000, 77–89.

[31] Pestman 1978, 203–210.

[32] This tendency may be further illustrated by the contemporary reform in tax collection to store collected staples in the royal, and not in the temple, granaries: Vandorpe 2000a, 405–436; 2000b, 169–232.

familial motives may also have played a role (unlike the Greek administrators of the temples).

The boundaries of this period are not easily delineated. Nevertheless, the battle of Raphia in 217 BCE may be taken as its starting point. Since Polybios, the historiographical tradition has identified this battle as the beginning of the 'Egyptianization' of the Ptolemaic army and more widely of the Ptolemaic administration. From our perspective, the battle of Raphia marks a turning point in the increasing connection between the military and administrative staff, on the one hand, and the priesthood, on the other. Ptolemaios VIII Euergetes II's period of rule may be taken as the ending point of this third period.[33] The end of the second century was characterized by the increasing size of the Graeco-Egyptian community and the extent of interrelationship between Egyptian priesthood and royal officers.

The Greek inscriptions (graffiti and official temple inscriptions) of Herodes, son of Demophon, Pergamene and citizen of Ptolemaïs (of the deme of Berenike), dated between 163 and 142 BCE, found in the temple of Philai, are among the oldest examples of a Greek administrator installed in an Egyptian temple (*Example 5*).[34] These inscriptions document Herodes' career. He was a military officer and territorial administrator stationed at the southern border of Egypt. He was successively a controller of mines (ἐπίτροπος τῶν μετάλλων), an infantry officer (ἡγεμὼν ἐπ' ἀνδρῶν), a commander of garrison (φρούραρχος καὶ γερροφύλλαξ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς Δωδεκασχήνου), in charge of the southern border (ἐπὶ τῶν ἄνω τόπων τεταγμένος) and, at the end of his career, *strategos* of the southern province. Throughout his career, Herodes was linked to local Egyptian temples (προφήτης τοῦ Χν[ούβεως] κ[αὶ ἀρχι]στολιστὴς τῶν ἐν Ἐλεφαντίνηι [καὶ Ἀβάτωι] καὶ Φίλαις ἱερῶν).[35] The inscriptions demonstrate that he moved up simultaneously in the military and the priestly hierarchies. At the end of his career he was both a military and territorial officer and he stood at the head of the temples of the area under his control.

Herodes is one of the first well-known military and territorial officials to make his way into the temples' hierarchy.[36] His integration in the priesthood

33 After this reign, the presence of soldiers and civil officials in the temples is a common feature.

34 *SB* 1.1918; 3.6045, ll. 2–4 (= *I.Portes* 23); 5.8394, ll. 3–6 (= *IThSy* 303); 5.8878, ll. 14–20 (= *OGIS* 111 = *I.Louvre* 14 = *IThSy* 302); Gorre 2009, 5–9 (no. 1).

35 Gorre 2009, 8–9.

36 See Pfeiffer 2011, 235–254, especially 241–244 for Herodes, see also 246–251 for the figure of Eraton, another Greek officer integrated into the local cultic life at the time of Herodes.

may have been prompted by the civilian and military uses of the buildings inside the enclosure of the temples. Even though the priestly circles of the southern *nomos* actively sought him as their protector,[37] Herodes' presence in the temple entailed a religious problem: good knowledge of classical Egyptian and adherence to strict rules of ritual purity were necessary in order to hold a position within the temples. It may be doubted that Herodes, as a Greek, met these requirements.[38]

The End of the Ptolemaic Period (*after 125 BCE*)

From 125 BCE to the end of the Ptolemaic era, the documentary evidence from the temples is quite homogeneous. The most common statue type, 'the striding draped male figure',[39] depicts royal officials, mostly *strategoi*, i.e. governors of the *nomoi* (districts), bearing the title of *syngenes* ('kinsman of the king'), the highest rank in the court hierarchy. These officials are represented wearing a tunic related to the Greek *chiton*.[40] Their heads are unshaven and they do not wear a wig in the Egyptian priestly tradition, but are represented as having curly hair in the Greek manner. Moreover, the heads of the statues are frequently crowned with a headband (*mitra*). In literary sources the headband together with the *chiton* are known to be the *syngenes*' insignia. Thus, judging from the iconography of these statues, the persons represented are to be interpreted as royal officials and not as priests.[41] Yet, despite their non-priestly appearance, these officials monopolized all the priestly titles of the temples located in their districts.[42] The priestly personnel and the civilian officials had merged to become one and

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[37] *SB* 5.8878, ll. 14–20.

[38] See Colin 2002, 46–47.

[39] See Bianchi 1976; 1978, 95–102. This type of statue is totally different from the traditional representation of the Egyptian priests, see Bothmer 1960.

[40] See Clarysse 1987, 11, and Chauveau 2002, 45–57, in particular 56: 'Il faut noter que le démotique *gtn* n'est pas un emprunt direct du grec *chitôn* et que les deux mots dérivent indépendamment du même lexème sémitique'.

[41] See Gorre 2009, 537; Moyer 2011, 31–37. In Greece and Asia Minor, in the Hellenistic and Roman Imperial periods, not all priests (identified as such) are represented with their priestly attire. It seems that image and text occasionally stressed a different aspect of one's career. However, this explanation cannot obtain for the Egyptian documentation. The 'striding draped male figure' is known in a religious context where, in the Pharaonic tradition, the religious duties are always underlined.

[42] It is interesting to notice that all the inscriptions mentioning these titles are written on the backs of the statues, although statues usually stood with their backs against a wall. Thus, the gods alone were able to read these inscriptions.

the same.[43] After 125 BCE, similar situations were becoming the rule in all the temples of the country.

Platon the Younger, who is known from the hieroglyphic inscription of his statue ('striding draped male figure' type) and from Greek administrative papyri ranging from 98 BCE to 88 BCE, is a good example of this development (*Example 6*).[44] Platon was the son of Platon, the *epistrategos* (governor) of the Thebais, and of an Egyptian woman, Tathotis, and the grandson of Hermias, citizen of Alexandria and royal courtier. Platon the Younger is not given a title in Greek documents, but it seems clear that he assisted his father. The inscription of the statue is composed of a long list of religious titles.

This family is representative of the Greek families settled by the Ptolemaic power in the Thebais after the 'secession' of the years 205–186 BCE,[45] who underwent a twofold integration into the local priestly world. Not only they were introduced in the temples as representatives of the royal power, but also they married into Egyptian sacerdotal families, such as Tathotis' family.

Platon was priest in all the temples located in the territorial district of his father. Theoretically, from an Egyptian religious point of view, the cults of these temples were very different from each other, since they were dedicated to different deities. However, from a Greek administrative point of view, solely the fact that these temples belonged to the same territorial district was relevant. Consequently, Platon was, above all, a territorial officer of the sanctuaries of his district, like Herodes (see above *example 5*) before him.

Another example can be found with the story of a family of soldiers and territorial administrators in modern Edfu (Apollinopolis Magna), documented in the Greek and hieroglyphic inscriptions of their funerary monuments (*Example 7*).[46] The family can be traced through five generations. Several members took part in the 'War of Sceptres'.[47] Members of the earlier generations exercised military and administrative functions and held priestly appointments in the local temples, whereas members of the later generations lost their positions both as officials and priests.

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[43] It may be readily assumed that a large number of these officials were unable to perform the priestly cultic duties, as was the case with Herodes in the temple of Philai (see above *example 5*).

[44] Gorre 2009, 94–98 (no. 24).

[45] For the 'Great secession of the Thebaid' see Veïsse 2004.

[46] Gorre 2009, 17–27 (nos. 4–7).

[47] Van 't Dack et al. 1989.

a) Greek inscriptions for Ptolemaios, who fought in Judaea during the conflict of 103–101 BCE:

> The one who, in the armies of Phoebus, showed irreproachable courage […][48]

> The one who was rewarded by the Euergetes with the headband (*mitra*), sacred honour of the 'kinsmen of the king' (*syngeneis*) […][49]

b) Egyptian inscription for Pamenches-Ptolemaios, who is to be identified with the Ptolemaios of the previous Greek inscription:[50]

> He received the golden crown of courage (*mitra*) and he wore the royal *gtn* [*sc.* the Greek *chiton*].

This family illustrates the cultural as well as the ethnic composition of a Graeco-Egyptian community. The ethnic affiliation of the family is uncertain, given that the Greek names might merely reflect a process of 'Hellenization'.[51] To be part of the Ptolemaic army and military service automatically entailed a process of Hellenization, since the Ptolemaic army was a Greek army. But the possibility that a Greek ancestor had married an Egyptian woman, as was the case in Platon's family (see above *example 6*), cannot be excluded.

The example of this family shows that the attempt to determine ethnic affiliation at the end of the Ptolemaic period is untenable. If, at the beginning of the Ptolemaic period, Greeks and Egyptians belonged to two distinct communities, this differentiation can no longer be sustained for the end of the Ptolemaic period, which is characterized by the growth of a Graeco-Egyptian community. This community was as much cultural as ethnic. The members of this community belonged to the Greek Ptolemaic administration and army, which more or less implied automatically a Hellenization of the community.

The Graeco-Egyptian community was linked to both the temples and the crown. However, there was a hierarchy between religious functions and civil or military functions: the first were subject to the second. The priestly career did not depend on family tradition, but rather on one's civil and military career. Graeco-Egyptian priests were in charge of the temples of their

48 Bernand, *Inscr. métriques* 5, ll. 8/9; Gorre 2009, 19 (no. 4).

49 Bernand, *Inscr. métriques* 35, ll. 4/5; Gorre 2009, 19 (no. 4).

50 Pamenches-Ptolemaios was further an important priest and administrator at the head of Horus' temple: Gorre 2009, 18 (no. 4), 24 (no. 6).

51 By 'Hellenization' we mean the ability to appear as a Greek agent of the Ptolemaic rulers besides the Egyptian identity (as a priest), see further the concept of 'double-faced'.

military or administrative district. That is, their rank in the priestly hierarchy was determined by their rank in the administrative or military hierarchy. When their administrative or military position changed, their priestly position changed in the same way. Thus, when the members of Pamenches-Ptolemaios' family lost their military functions, they lost their religious functions at the same time.[52] Several other cases show that a transfer to a new district entailed taking over new religious titles related to the district and relinquishing the previous religious functions linked to the temples located in the district just vacated.[53]

For Willy Clarysse this community is 'double-faced',[54] illustrated by double-names, Greek and Egyptian. In an Egyptian context (in the temples), Egyptian names were the most usual, but Greek names could also be used; in a Greek context (army, administration), Greek names were largely predominant. This shows that the two identities were not equal: the Greek identity was more important. Even in a religious Egyptian context, the Greek identity became visible, but the same prominence did not extend to the Egyptian identity in a Greek military or administrative context.

Conclusion

The appointment of the High Priest of Memphis was accompanied by the establishment of the dynastic cult in the Egyptian temples and a fiscal reform with the *apomoira* tax, which was levied on vineyards and orchards. The taxes were collected by tax farmers appointed by the government and not by the temples themselves. The result of this reform was, for the temples, the loss of the direct control of their revenues and the institution of a royal control, firstly by the intermediary of tax collectors and secondly by the High Priest of Memphis. The High Priests of Memphis acted as representatives of the Ptolemaic kings in the temples, and directly depended on the royal administration in fiscal matters. At the end of the third century and the beginning of the second century, temples' scribes and granaries were replaced by royal scribes and royal granaries for the harvest tax collection and the temple's lands were subjected to the harvest tax. This evolution didn't halt the royal intrusion in the temples, but, on the contrary, increased it. In the last century of Ptolemaic rule, the governors of the nomes, the

52 Gorre 2009, 20.
53 Gorre 2009, 593–596.
54 Clarysse 1999, 56.

strategoi, were at the head of the Egyptian temples, at least in the south of the country, despite the fact that they had no family ties with the local priesthoods and, in some cases, seem to have been religiously incompetent to carry out the religious duties traditionally performed by the chief priests of the temples.

The change in the identity of the leaders of Egyptian temples implied a change in their self-representation. This double change can be characterized by the decrease in importance of the priestly identity in favour of the civil or military officer identity. Three steps in this change can be discerned:

a) The old priestly families who had held their priestly appointments since the XXXth dynasty or even earlier disappeared.
b) Under Ptolemaios II and his son Ptolemaios III (285–246 and 246–222 BCE), a new priesthood, which had no family ties with the old sacerdotal families, emerged in connection with the establishment of the dynastic cult.
c) The priests who stood at the very head of the temples were progressively replaced by army officers and territorial administrators, in charge of the districts where the temples were located. This evolution was completed by the end of the second century BCE, when the temples were headed by Graeco-Egyptians exercising functions in the army and the royal administration.

Later, the Roman conquest entailed a new radical change. The imperial power had no need of an Egyptian priesthood, since Augustus and his successors were worshipped by the Roman legions garrisoned in Egypt. The priesthood was placed under the control of the Prefect, through the *archiereus*. The evidence documenting the priests becomes scant, and this very change in the evidence suggests the 'cultural dislocation' of the Egyptian priesthood.[55]

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55 Bianchi 1992, 15–39; Bingen 1998, 311–320.

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SHIFTING CONCEPTIONS OF THE DIVINE: SARAPIS AS PART OF PTOLEMAIC EGYPT'S SOCIAL IMAGINARIES

Eleni Fassa

The concept of social imaginary was introduced in the field of social sciences by Cornelius Castoriadis in his seminal work *The Imaginary Institution of Society* (1975). According to Castoriadis, each society institutes itself upon specific structures (laws, values, symbols, narratives, etc.) which are primarily imaginary. The institution of society is self-institution and its consciousness of this process, of instituting itself, touches upon the concept of autonomy. For Castoriadis, autonomous societies are open and subject to alteration; they perennially challenge their structures, pose questions about their existence and modify their systems of significations. In contrast, heteronomous societies are closed-up and conservative; they are static and they express a remarkable resistance to change. Religion, an institution of both ancient and modern societies, is a feature of heteronomy according to Castoriadis. First, he views religion as a conformable and corrosive action regarding social imaginary significations, since 'everything that is becomes subsumable under the same significations'.[1] Societies institute themselves through the constant establishment of their representations. Religion appears as a factor which poses a threat to this process, since it provides a set of answers, formulated for instance as a system of beliefs, which is solid and determined, canonized and unsusceptible to inquiry. In this sense, religion amputates, if not abolishes, what Castoriadis calls 'radical imaginary', the human capacity to create and represent, since religion provides fixed and rigid responses to 'the demand for signification', a principle that is fundamental for a society's self-institution. Second, religion propounds false dichotomies between 'real' and 'transcendental', 'worldly' and 'divine', 'sacred' and 'profane'. This antithetic schema undermines society's ability to comprehend that it is itself the formative agent of its institutions, as well as its ability to realise that the creational power of each society is the society itself.

[1] Castoriadis 1997, 317.

Despite the negative critique, Castoriadis' theory considers religion to be a fundamental factor for the construction of a society's imaginary; it recognizes that religion can have a formative effect on a given society. Religion is shaped by the social imaginary, but it also shapes it. It constitutes a tool which elucidates the manifold ways with which a society signifies and represents itself.

Consequently, the conception of religion as part of a society's social imaginary requires the study of religion not as an autonomous discourse, demanding specific methodological tools in order to be approached and analyzed, but as an expression of human culture, subject to social, economic and political interference and considerations. In this sense, religion is not an obscure or abstract essence separate from the other multifarious expressions of human activity; as such, it is understood and studied via the categories of 'sacred', 'holy' or 'mystery'. Even expressions which are classified under the heading of personal religiosity are inextricably connected with the cultural and social, that is, the historical context. The perception and representation of the divine by an individual (manifested, for instance, by his or her choice of the linguistic structure for a dedication or by the material and decoration of an offering) are dependent upon and constitute an expression of the ways regarded by the society in which he or she is living as approved and acceptable for addressing whatever is, in each instance, defined as supernatural. This conception seems especially valid in polytheistic societies (here it should be noted that Castoriadis does not seem to have polytheism in mind in his negative critique of religion as a constructive agent of social imaginary; on the contrary, his examples are drawn from the three major monotheisms of the 20th century). In these societies, the idea of the divine is not usually regulated by specific dogmas formulated as strict, inescapable laws, and the concept of god is more fluent and changeable. However, a certain religious coherence can be detected in specific cultural and social frameworks as articulated, for example, in the inscriptional modes and traditions which evolved in particular localities.

The application of the concept of social imaginary to the study of Hellenistic religion[2] demands a shift in methodological focus. If the object of inquiry is the signification of the divine in a particular society, then a more holistic approach is required to study what we perceive as religious phenom-

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[2] By religion, in this framework, I mean a system of beliefs and practices with regard to the supernatural realized by individuals or communities, in specific geographical and chronological conditions; it encompasses different cults, rituals, myths, images, etc.

ena. In polytheistic societies this is embedded in a variety of media, such as myths, inscriptions, architecture, sculpture, coins and papyri. Moreover, Hellenistic societies are notably complex, given the fact that the Hellenistic *oikoumene* is partly comprised of kingdoms which, especially in the cultural space categorized as the 'East', are founded on a multicultural basis. In this framework different imaginaries come into contact and sometimes clash, but their encounter in most cases is characterized not by occasional contact, but by a demand, either internal or imposed, for continuous coexistence. Coexistence generates adaptations and transformations, as well as obliterations and innovations, thus creating new systems of significations.

One of the most prominent and popular products of the intercultural encounter which took place during the Hellenistic age is the god Sarapis. The cult of Sarapis was founded in Ptolemaic Egypt; it travelled through the Hellenistic world and, in its long march through the centuries, it carried multiple significations which were subject to the wishes, expectations and needs of the communities where it was introduced. In Alexandria Sarapis evolved as a god connected with Ptolemaic kingship, but in Boiotia he was one of the primary divinities for the emancipation of slaves. In Thessalonike the dynastic overtones were marginalized and his healing qualities came to the foreground. In Delos he was primarily viewed as forming a triad with Isis and Anubis, and in Memphis he was understood to be a god who could possess his devotees to the point of controlling their actions, which led to the evolvement of the phenomenon of *katoche*.

This essay will focus on the conception of the god in Ptolemaic Egypt especially during the third century BCE, when the creation of significations around the figure of Sarapis was both intense and systematic. It will be demonstrated that the Ptolemaic state played a crucial role in creating a space of representations for Sarapis. The members of Ptolemaic society, however, also participated (positively or negatively) in this process, since they were the bearers of social imaginary significations. In the case of the Ptolemaic kingdom these are primarily the two major ethnic groups: the Greek- and Egyptian-speaking populations. Their imaginaries of the god include a creative element, which is subject to alterations that depend on the cultural, as well as the social, context.

Glimpses of Sarapian Prehistory: Egyptian Origins, Greek Innovations and New Systems of Meanings

Antiquity has been sufficiently vague concerning the background, the foundation and the formation of Sarapis' cult in Alexandria.[3] The extant sources even disagree on the fundamental outlines of the introduction narratives: whence was the god introduced into Alexandria? Who founded the cult and when? Various cities of the Hellenistic *oikoumene* are credited as the god's original homeland: Sinope of Pontos,[4] Seleukeia on the Orontes,[5] Memphis,[6] and even pre-Hellenistic Alexandria.[7] Accordingly, eminent figures of the Hellenistic world are considered responsible for the god's advent in Alexandria: Alexander the Great,[8] Ptolemaios I,[9] Ptolemaios II,[10] Ptolemaios III,[11] or an obscure Pharaoh of Egypt.[12]

Despite these ambiguities, there remains an underlying common feature in the different versions and their extensive variants: their historical dimension. First, the introduction myths continually stress the historical grounding of the cult's foundation: the founder and, consequently, the advocator, of the cult is a king (either Hellenistic, or one placed in a distant and vague past). Second, the mythical scenery alludes to the political and intellectual atmosphere of the Hellenistic kingdoms, thus linking mythical imagination and current historical developments. Allusions are made to the Hellenistic court, with the ruler and his close advisors making decisions on the religious

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3 The inconsistencies and perplexities of the introduction myths are heavily criticized in the works of Christian Apologists, cf. Origen, *C. Cels.* 5.38: Περὶ δὲ Σαράπιδος πολλὴ καὶ διάφωνος ἱστορία. See also Eus. *PE* 3.16.3–4; Cyril Alex. *C. Jul.* 1.16; Georg. Monach. *Chron.* pp. 583–584; Georg. Cedr. *Hist.* vol. 1, p. 567.

4 Tac. *Hist.* 4.83–84; Plut. *Mor.* [*De Is. et Os.*] 361e9–362d7; Plut. *Mor.* [*De soll. anim.*] 984a–b; Clem. Al. *Protr.* 4.48.2–3; Theophil. Apol. *Ad Autol.* 1.9.15–23; Epiph. *Anc.* 104–105; Cyril Alex. *C. Jul.* 1.16; Scholia in Dionysii per. *Orb. Descr.* 255.1–28.

5 Tac. *Hist.* 4.84; Clem. Al. *Protr.* 4.48.3.

6 Scholia in Dionysii per. *Orb. Descr.* 255.1–28; Aristipp. fr. 1; Tac. *Hist.* 4.84; Georg. Monach. *Chron.* 583–584.

7 Ps.-Callisth. *Hist. Alex. Magn.* 1.33.1–13.

8 Ps.-Callisth. *Hist. Alex. Magn.* 1.33.1–13; a link between Sarapis and Alexander is also implied by Plutarch (*Alex.* 7.3.7–9) and Arrian (*Anab.* 7.26.2).

9 Tac. *Hist.* 4.83–84; Plut. *Mor.* [*De Is. et Os.*] 361f–362a; Plut. *Mor.* [*De soll. anim.*] 984a–b Scholia in Dionysii per. *Orb. Descr* 255.8–11.

10 Clem. Al. *Protr.* 4.48.2–3; Cyril Alex. *C. Jul.* 1.16.

11 Tac. *Hist.* 4.84.

12 Athenodorus cited by Clem. Al. *Protr.* 4.48.4–6; allusions also in Ps.-Callist. *Hist. Alex. Magn.* 1.33.6.

policy of the kingdom.[13] Moreover, the foundation of the cult is interpreted in the context of Hellenistic euergetism: in some myths the cult is regarded as a reciprocal offering, after the king of Egypt has demonstrated his beneficial qualities towards the cities of the Hellenistic *oikoumene*.[14] Finally, interpretations of the cult's foundation include other contemporary trends; in certain cases, euhemeristic exegesis is applied to the miraculous *epidemia* of the god in Alexandria.[15]

Myths depict Sarapis as an *in-between* god: he oscillates between the traditional Greek world and Egypt, between Greek rulers as conquerors of the East and the Pharaohs, between the human and the divine realm. In other words, these myths reflect the ambiguity surrounding the perception of the god's identity by his worshippers. This blurring granted the god a unique advantage: he could be perceived as both Greek and Egyptian, as new and traditional, as ancestral and foreign.

The assumptions made by the mythical narratives demonstrate people's imaginaries regarding the god in specific periods. For example, the attribution of the foundation of the cult to Alexander the Great, a possibility rightly rejected by modern research, reflects more the aspirations and expectations of the Ptolemaic dynasty with regard to legitimacy, rather than a historical reality. Narratives, however, form only one part of the reality of the cult. It is indicative that, despite the claims of some introduction stories, there is no compelling evidence about a cult attributed to the god named as such, that is, 'Sarapis', before the assumption of the title of king by Ptolemaios I. On the other hand, the survey of archaeological monuments, inscriptions and papyri, especially those dated to the end of the fourth and the first decades of the third century BCE, directs us to Ptolemaios I and Memphis.[16]

During the years when Alexandria was being built, Ptolemaios I was using as his temporary abode Memphis, the celebrated Pharaonic capital for most of Egypt's history.[17] This was not his first visit there: in 332 BCE Ptolemaios had marched with the triumphant army of Alexander to Memphis, where his general sacrificed to the city's sacred bull, named Apis (Arr. *Anab.* 3.1.2–3).

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13 Tac. *Hist.* 4.83–84; Plut. *Mor.* [*De Is. et Os.*] 361f–362a.

14 Clem. Al. *Protr.* 4.48.2–3; Georg. Monach. *Chron.* pp. 583–584; Suda s.v. Σάραπις.

15 Aristipp. fr. 1; Aristeas Arg. cited by Clem. Al. *Strom.* 1.21.106; Ps.-Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.1–2; Epiph. *Anc.* 104–105; Sync. *Chron.* p. 174.

16 See e.g. *P.Oxy.* 15.1803 (= Men. Fr. 139a); *I.Alex.Ptol.* 1–2; Fraser 1964, no. 12, pp. 81–82; Scholia in Dionysii per. *Orb. Descr.* 255.3–6; for a detailed presentation and evaluation of the evidence see Huss 2001, 241–245.

17 On the topography of Memphis see Petrie 1909; Porter and Moss 1974; Jeffreys 1985; Thompson 1988, 3–31; Ashton 2003, 1–8.

Ptolemaios, as a ruler of Egypt, was also familiar with Memphis' principal god and probably with aspects of the Osirian theology.[18] The priests would have informed him about the qualities of the bull-god, especially about his connection with kingship. It must have been at this time that Ptolemaios decided to connect this god to himself and his future dynasty, marking his hegemony in Egypt.

But Apis, although revered and famous, even outside the borders of Egypt,[19] was still perceived as odd to the Greek mind. Firstly, he had an animal form: he was a living bull with his stall, his cow mother and his offspring.[20] Moreover, at the opposite side of Memphis in the sacred animal necropolis, the deceased Apis bull was worshipped as Osiris-Apis, in mummified form. Therefore, given the Greek perception of the divine, the god required some adjustment. To this end Ptolemaios appealed to specialists, and renowned experts of his era were invited to assist him. Manetho from Heliopolis was the first Egyptian priest to write in Greek. Manetho collaborated with a Greek *exegetes* named Timotheos, an interpreter of sacred Eleusinian lore, who was invited by Ptolemaios himself to Alexandria.[21] These two religious specialists made the necessary changes and adaptations so that the god would appeal to a kingdom governed by a Macedonian Greek who was oriented not only towards the Egyptian hinterland, but also towards the Aegean Sea.

But what kind of reforms did they carry out? First, there was a major change in the divine image. Apis or Osiris-Apis was theriomorphic, hybrid or mummified, whereas Sarapis was always represented in an anthropomorphic fashion. The introduction of the cult is signified by the advent of the god's statue which, coming from outside the Alexandrian, that is, the Ptolemaic, conceptual space, has left behind almost all of his previous, Egyptian iconographic baggage.[22] In contrast to his divine past, which

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[18] Cf. the large donations for the burial of the Apis bull (Diod. Sic. 1.84.8; Hölbl 2001, 88–89); for the contacts between Ptolemaios and the major priestly families see Huss 2001, 213–214.

[19] Hdt. 3.28.3; cf. also Diod. Sic. 1.84.4–85.5; Strabo 7.1.22, 27, 31; Pompon. 1.9.58; Plin. *HN* 8.184–186; Plut. *Mor.* [*De Is. et Os.*] 43; *Mor.* [*Quaest. Conv.*] 8.1.3; Ael. *NA* 11.10; Lucian *Deor. Conc.* 10–11. For the Greek-speaking world Apis became a narrative analogous to the springs of the Nile. It was a theme Greeks expected to encounter in books about Egypt.

[20] For the life of Apis see Thompson 1988, 191–197; cf. *UPZ* 1.12–13 (158 BCE).

[21] Tac. *Hist.* 4.83–84; Plut. *Mor.* [*De Is. et Os.*] 361f–362a; *CIL* 8.1007 (bust of Manetho in the Serapeion of Carthage); Huss, 2001, 243–245.

[22] See Tac. *Hist.* 4.83–84; Plut. *Mor.* [*De Is. et Os.*] 361f–362a; and a vivid description (in the framework of Christian polemic) by Clem. Al. *Protr.* 4.48.4–6.

could be described as Osiris-Apis (also formulated as Oserapis), Osiris, or Apis, the god was now represented by the Greek iconographic conventions of his day. His image resembled that of Pluto, Zeus or Asklepios.[23] Second, Manetho and Timotheos introduced Sarapis into the Osirian mythical cycle and adjusted features of Egyptian theology to Greek conceptions of the divine.[24] Isis, the sister and wife of Osiris, became his companion, not only in Ptolemaic Egypt but all over the Hellenistic *oikoumene*. Dozens of inscriptions mention Sarapis and Isis together, forming an almost inseparable divine couple. Finally, they identified the new god with Pluto, thus incorporating an additional mythological aspect to the god, since Pluto was the Greek god of the Underworld and played a part in the Eleusinian mysteries.[25]

Sarapis was introduced into Ptolemaic Egypt under the initiative of Ptolemaios I. The king's advisors, Timotheos and Manetho, gave the directions for the realization of a complex and heavily adapted set of theological ideas in what was gradually to become Ptolemaic society. They created a new system of meanings that, in their view, would reflect the complexity and ethnic variety of Ptolemaic society and, at the same time, it would signify its Greek ruling class.

The First Ptolemies and the Integration of Sarapis into Egypt's Social Imaginaries

It was primarily during the third century BCE that the Ptolemies promoted the Sarapis cult. This was the period when the Ptolemaic kingdom possessed the necessary funds and could still realize ambitious strategies in its foreign policy. The systematic advancement of the cult by the rulers of Egypt inevitably poses questions about their motives. Why did they choose not only to introduce, but also to promote, that is, to fund and integrate, this

23 For the iconography of the god in the early Ptolemaic period see Castiglione 1958, 17–39; Castiglione 1978, 208–232; Hornbostel 1973; the problems concerning the early depiction of the god in Alexandria are summarized by Schmidt 2005, 295–302.

24 The fact that this process took place during the first stages of the advent of the statue in Alexandria is implied by the narratives which combine the reception of the god with the exegesis offered by Ptolemaios' advisors upon seeing the statue, cf. Plut. *Mor.* [*De Is. et Os.*] 362a–b.

25 Identification with Pluto: Tac. *Hist.* 4.84; Plut. *Mor.* [De *Is. et Os.*] 362a; Clem. Al. *Protr.* 4.48.2; for further identifications and connections see Stambaugh 1972, 27–35; for the temple of Pluto, the *Plutoneion*, of the Eleusinian sanctuary see Hippol. *Haer.* 5.8.39–40; Clinton 1992, 14–27; Mikalson 2005, 87–90.

cult into their religious world? This is a question that cannot be answered with certainty. Modern scholars have offered manifold theories, the most prominent of which is that Sarapis could function as a cohesive religious tool linking the two major ethnic groups of the Ptolemaic kingdom, Greeks and Egyptians.[26] Even if this were the Ptolemies' intention—a hypothesis which cannot be confirmed, the less so because it is not mentioned by a single ancient author[27]—the outcome of their religious experiment was not necessarily guaranteed. Actually, the role of Sarapis as a homogenizing agent for the diverse populations of Ptolemaic Egypt is not validated by the extant evidence.[28] Our sources suggest that the new rulers of Egypt were particularly interested in advancing a specific feature of Sarapis' divine personality: his connection with the Ptolemaic royal household and the ideology of Ptolemaic kingship, which was gradually taking shape and was being propounded during the same period. The actions they undertook to achieve this goal were applied to three different, but interrelated fields: (a) the construction of new temples or modifications of older ones, (b) the reformation of the royal oath, and (c) innovations in coinage.

Sarapis' connection with kingship was rooted in his Egyptian background. Osiris was the king and judge of the Underworld. He presided over the royal burial and he was identified with the dead Pharaoh.[29] In the great burial temple of the Memphite necropolis, Osiris was united with the dead Apis bull.[30] Apis was also linked with kingship. From the 13th century BCE onwards, concepts and rituals connected with vegetation, fertility and the Pharaonic household evolved in his cult.[31] The cult of Osiris-Apis encapsulated the ideology of Pharaonic kingship: it alluded to the living Pharaoh through his connection with Apis and Ptah. The living Pharaoh was also identified with Horus, the son of Isis and Osiris, whereas the dead Pharaoh was united with Osiris.

Nonetheless, the Ptolemies did not choose to associate their rule *only* with one of these Egyptian deities traditionally presiding over kingship. They preferred a process of interpretation and adaptation which led to the foundation of the Sarapis cult. The reasons lying behind this choice can only be assumed. As I will show below, the foundation of the Sarapis cult and

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26 Cf. Fraser 1960, 1–20; Stambaugh 1972, 95–96; Hornbostel 1973, 18; Hölbl 1984, 870.
27 Cf. Huss 2001, 245–246.
28 See below for the Greek and Egyptian reactions to the cult.
29 Cf. Gwyn Griffiths 1982, 626–627; Morenz 1992, 55.
30 Cf. Thompson 1988, 202.
31 Cf. Thompson 1988, 192.

its connection to the Ptolemaic royal household was primarily appealing to the Greek-speaking population of Egypt who could possibly relate easily to religious imagery appearing in Greek conceptual modes.[32] At the same time, the binary nature of the god reflected the binary character of Ptolemaic kingship: a Greek monarch presiding over Egypt, ruling as Pharaoh for the Egyptians and as a king for a mixed population of Greeks. Ptolemaic royal ideology evolved on similar grounds, exploiting symbols that were susceptible to double (both Greek and Egyptian) renderings.[33] In the field of religion Sarapis might have been intended to serve a parallel role.

In this framework, traditionally Egyptian sets of ideas were interpreted through Greek cultural filters. Fulfilling their roles as Pharaohs, but at the same time propagating the link between the royal household and the Isiac deities, the Ptolemies themselves became dedicants of temples, shrines and altars in honour of Sarapis and Isis. It was primarily the landscape of Alexandria that was permanently marked and shaped by building activity on the Rhakotis hill, initiated by Ptolemaios I. There he built the first construction in honour of Sarapis,[34] whereas a few decades later his grandson Ptolemaios III replaced it with the so-called great Sarapieion of Alexandria.[35] His son Ptolemaios Philopator, following the religious policy of his predecessors, once more erected a temple in honour of Harpokrates in the Sarapieion precinct.[36] It is important to note that the Sarapieion of Alexandria, though a place of worship primarily for Sarapis and the other Isiac deities, also included the Ptolemaic dynasty. An altar dedicated to Ptolemaios II and Arsinoe was built in the Sarapieion precinct, near the temple of Sarapis.[37]

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32 In the course of the centuries of Greek presence in Egypt under the Ptolemaic and Roman rule the Greek-speaking population worshipped Egyptian deities (cf. for example numerous dedications in Abydos and the Fayum). However, here we are making assumptions concerning the rationale of the Greek authorities in Egypt in the early Ptolemaic period, when the cohabitation of Egyptians and Greeks—the latter immigrating in vast numbers and coming as conquerors of the country, thus often enjoying privileged status—had not yet been tested in action.

33 See Koenen 1993, 25–46.

34 For the probability that during the reign of Ptolemaios I a temple was built on the Rhakotis hill, see McKenzie, Gibson and Reyes 2004, 81, 83.

35 *I.Alex.Ptol.* 13 (examined below).

36 *I.Alex.Ptol.* 21 (222/1–204 BCE): βασιλεὺς Πτολεμαῖος βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου καὶ βασιλίσσης Βερενίκης, θεῶν Εὐεργετῶν, Ἁρποχράτει, κατὰ πρόσταγμα Σαράπιδος καὶ Ἴσιδος; for the hieroglyphic text, see Rowe 1946, 55; Drioton 1946, 97–115; Jouguet 1946, 686; Yoyotte 1998, 211; for the present inscription see Fraser 1972a, 261–262; Empereur 1995, 7 with ph. 6; Bernand in *I.Alex.Ptol.*, pp. 60–61; Sabottka 2008, 181–186.

37 *OGIS* 725: βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου καὶ Ἀρσινόης Φιλαδέλφου θεῶν Σωτήρων; the altar was erected c. 279/274–272/271 BCE; see Pfeiffer 2008a, 400.

While the monumental topography of Alexandria was designed to express the Ptolemaic ideology which was being delineated during the same period, corresponding tendencies and conceptions were conveyed through different means in the second centre of Ptolemaic power, Memphis. In Memphis the adjustments were applied to an already developed and culturally burdened landscape. During the third century BCE important modifications were initiated by the Ptolemies in the major temple of the necropolis, the temple of Osiris-Apis, which was transformed in order to become a Sarapieion, a temple in honour of Sarapis.[38] Changes were aimed at the Hellenization of the sanctuary, which was realized by the introduction of additional sculptural constructions. The first such construction was the famous *exedra*, a semicircular structure erected at the end of the processional way (*dromos*) leading from the Nile canal to the largest temple of the necropolis. It is a sculptural complex in the Greek style, bearing images of major Greek poets and philosophers.[39] Despite its celebrity, the *exedra* remains a problematic monument in the sense that it cannot be attributed with certainty to any one of the first four Ptolemaic kings and the sculpted images cannot easily be identified.

The second important Ptolemaic intervention in the Memphitic sanctuary was the introduction of Dionysiac imagery along the southern part of the *dromos*. Like the *exedra* sculptures, the *dromos* statues were fashioned in Greek style and they represented visual expressions of the adventures of the young Dionysos, the Greek equivalent of Osiris;[40] subsequently, through this connection, the statues related to Sarapis. In this Hellenized temple, sacrifices and libations took place every day in honour of the king and queen. These were performed by the same personnel devoted to the worship of Sarapis.[41] Compared to Ptolemaic interventions in Alexandria, those in Memphis carried a much stronger message, since here the Ptolemies redec-

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[38] Some scholars (Wilcken 1927, 149–203; Lauer and Picard 1955, 150) believe that the modifications in the Sarapieion of Memphis took place during the reign of the first two Ptolemies; others (such as Ashton 2003, 25–28) claim that they were initiated in the second half of the third century BCE by Euergetes or Philopator.

[39] According to Lauer and Picard 1955, 246–254, one of the depicted philosophers could be Demetrios of Phaleron, leaning upon a head of Sarapis.

[40] According to Herodotos, Dionysos is the Greek translation of Osiris (2.144: Ὄσιρις δέ ἐστι Διόνυσος κατὰ Ἑλλάδα γλῶσσαν; cf. also 2.42); Diod. Sic. 1.25.2, 4.1.6; Plut. *Mor.* [*De Is. et Os.*] 362b; on the Dionysiac imagery cf. Fraser 1972a, 206; Hölbl 2001, 281–282; Bergmann 2007, 256.

[41] Cf. *UPZ* 1.14, ll. 27–33 (23 Febr. 157 BCE); 19, ll. 2–4 (163 BCE); 20, ll. 61–64 (163 BCE); 41, ll. 22–25 (161/160 BCE); 42.2, ll. 48–51 (30 Oct.–1 Nov. 162 BCE).

orated and thus re-signified a landscape which had been gradually formed through centuries of Egyptian history. The Ptolemies were, thus, declaring that they were not only the conquerors of Egypt's geographical space, but also regulators of the country's cultural topography.

The connection between Isiac and dynastic cult was not only reserved for sacred space. At a central location in the city of Alexandria, a sanctuary was built for both the human and the divine royal couples: for Sarapis and Isis along with Ptolemaios IV and Arsinoe III.[42] It is most probable that Ptolemaios Philopator himself dedicated the temple for the joint ritual performances of Isiac and dynastic cults, thus marking a turning point in dynastic cult: he was the first of his dynasty to have a temple dedicated in his honour while still alive. At the same time, through his ritual actions he was establishing the proper, socially acceptable way to address the human, as well as the divine, royal couple of Egypt.

These luxurious dedications dominating the urban landscape promoted a religious atmosphere that prompted inhabitants or visitors to Alexandria to view Sarapis as connected to the Greek kings of Egypt. These images evoked the idea that the kings favoured both the worship and the worshippers of the god. The prosopography of the devotees of Sarapis demonstrates that, for the members of the upper class, as well as for those working within the Ptolemaic state (e.g., in the administration or in the army), the worship of Sarapis was a means of promoting their status in the eyes of Ptolemaic authority.[43]

This attitude is confirmed by many extant sources, including a letter from one Zoilos addressed to Apollonios, minister of finance under Ptolemaios Philadelphos (285–246 BCE), dated to the 13 February 257 BCE.[44] Zoilos is petitioning the Ptolemaic state to fund his construction of a Sarapis temple. In the final part of his letter Zoilos urges Apollonios to contribute to the execution of the god's orders so that Sarapis will be gracious towards him, increasing his status in the royal house and granting him good health.

42 *I.Alex.Ptol.* 18 (217–204 BCE): Σαραπίδος (κ)αὶ Ἴσ(ι)δος θεῶν Σωτήρων καὶ βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου καὶ βασιλίσσης Ἀρσινόης θεῶν Φιλοπατόρων.

43 Cf. *I.Alex.Ptol.* 5; *I.Delta* 2.749, l. 13; *I.Varsovie* 45; *IThSy* 318; 320; *OGIS* 64; 82; 168; *SEG* 18.69.

44 This letter is a much-discussed text in Sarapian studies; cf. Wilcken 1920, 394–395 (no. 435); Fraser 1972a, 116, 257–259, 273; Clarysse and Vandorpe 1995, 79–81; Borgeaud and Volokhine 2000, 46–47; Pfeiffer 2008a, 396–400.

> καλῶς οὖν ἔχει, Ἀπολλώνιε, ἐπακολουθῆσαί σε τοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ προστάγμασιν, ὅπως ἂν εὐίλατός σοι ὑπάρχων ὁ Σάραπις πολλῶι σε μείζω παρὰ τῶι βασιλεῖ καὶ ἐνδοξότερον μετὰ τῆς τοῦ σώματος ὑγιείας ποιήσηι.[45]

The same attitude is well attested in the second century BCE. In his vast series of letters addressed to Ptolemaic administration Ptolemaios, a recluse (κάτοχος) in the Sarapieion of Memphis, expresses the view that Sarapis will increase the stature of and guarantee professional success for those who honour him. Ptolemaios believes that participating in the worship of this god will ensure kingly and, consequently, social approval. The following is a telling example:

> περὶ μὲν οὖν τούτων δο σοι ὁ Σάραπις καὶ ἡ Εἶσις ἐπαφροδισίαν χάρειν μορφὴν πρὸς τὸν βασιλεία καὶ τὴν βασίλισσαν δι' ἧς ἔχεις πρὸς τὸ θεῖον ὁσιότητα.[46]

This ideological nexus was also enhanced by the fact that Sarapis and Isis were the only gods of Ptolemaic Egypt introduced into the formula of the royal oath. The royal oath was sworn to the royal couple and their predecessors, who were called upon as guarantors and witnesses of any private or public transaction. It was the initiative of Ptolemaios III to add Sarapis and Isis, expressly named, to the oath formula. An example is an oath taken from one Paniskos in Apollonopolis Magna, on the 29 September 222 BCE, concerning land (*P.Eleph.* 23, ll. 8–13):

> ὀμνύω βασιλέα Πτολεμαῖον τὸν ἐγ βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου καὶ ᾽Αρσιν[ό]ης θεῶν ᾽Αδελφῶν καὶ βασίλισσαν Βερενίκην τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως ἀδελφὴν καὶ γυ[να]ῖκ[α καὶ θεοὺς] ᾽Αδελφοὺς καὶ θεοὺς Σωτῆρας τοὺς τούτων γονεῖς καὶ τὴν ῏Ισιν καὶ τὸν Σαρᾶπιν καὶ το[ὺς] ἄλλους θεοὺς πάντας καὶ πάσας.[47]

The implications of this innovation largely elude us. Given the importance of oaths in ancient societies, the fact that they were used in all types of

[45] *P.Cair.Zen* 1.59034, ll. 18–21: 'It is therefore right, Apollonius, for you to follow the god's commands, so that Sarapis may be merciful to you and may greatly increase your standing with the king and your prestige and make you enjoy good bodily health' (trans. Austin 2006, no. 301).

[46] *UPZ* 1.33, ll. 8–11 (23rd January 161 BCE): 'For all these may Sarapis and Isis give you grace, favor and appreciation by the king and queen, by reason of your sacred relationship with the divine'; cf. also *P.Cair.Zen.* 1.59168 (27 April 256 BCE); *UPZ* 1.45, ll. 13–14 (161 BCE): ἀνθ' ὧν ὁ Σάραπις καὶ ἡ ῏Ισις ἀντιλάβοιντο καὶ σοῦ καθ' ἣν ἔχεις εὐσέβειαν; 52, ll. 8–9 (10 Jan. 161 BCE): οὐθένα ἔχωμεν βοηθὸν ἀλλ' ἢ σὲ καὶ τὸν Σάραπιν; 53, ll. 29–30 (after the 10th Jan. 161 BCE): σοὶ δὲ ὁ Σάραπις [ἀν]ταποδῷ σ⟨ο⟩ὶ χάριν καὶ μορφὴν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα.

[47] 'I swear by King Ptolemaios, son of Ptolemaios and Arsinoe, the Brother Gods, and by Queen Berenike, the king's sister and wife and by the Brother Gods and by the Soter Gods, their parents and by Isis and Sarapis and by all the other gods and goddesses'.

private and public transactions, in contracts, loans, the emancipation of slaves, and other manifold aspects of everyday life,[48] the incorporation of Sarapis and Isis in the royal oath is of great significance. It constitutes an outright distinction which is in contrast to the other gods of Egypt. The country's rulers are setting the conceptual framework for the Isiac deities: these were to be understood as in close affinity with the royal household and its ancestors.

Coinage expressed another important aspect of Ptolemaic policy pertaining to the cults of Sarapis and Isis. From the reign of Ptolemaios I the kingdom's coinage was dominated by royal portraits (principally the portrait of the dynasty's founder, Ptolemaios I) and the figure of Zeus (mainly as the Greek Zeus or Zeus Ammon). Ptolemaios IV, however, decided to disengage from the previous numismatic tradition by introducing a new iconographic type. For the first time, in his reign, the jugate heads of Sarapis and Isis occupied the obverse of the silver tetradrachms, whereas on the reverse appeared the well-known image of the Ptolemaic eagle, standing on a thunderbolt.[49] This iconographic innovation constitutes a deliberate act, emphasizing the connection between the two gods and royal power. The link between them resonates all the more because the representation of the divine couple was modelled on the image of the second Ptolemaic royal couple, the *Theoi Adelphoi*, which had first appeared on coins a few decades earlier.[50]

The Construction of Religious Social Imaginary as Interaction

Sarapis and the Greek-Speaking Population of Egypt

The Greek-speaking population responded fervently to the Ptolemaic policy on Isiac cults. Among other evidence, direct demonstrations of their reaction are the so-called double dedications. The double dedications are private offerings *for* (ὑπέρ+genitive) or *to* (dative) the royal couple, usually together with their offspring, and to selected gods, chiefly Sarapis and Isis. They are brief, simple texts that at first glance seem stereotypical and standardized; as such, they are often marginalized in modern Ptolemaic studies. However, as I will try to show, they constitute an important source for Ptolemaic social and religious history, principally because they express an

48 See Graf 2005, 237–246; Sommerstein and Fletcher 2007.

49 Svoronos 1904, nos. 1123–1124; *SNRIS* 84; Tran Tam Tinh 1970, 56–59; Morkholm 1991, 109; Lorber 2012, 218–219.

50 Morkholm 1991, 103–104.

attempt made by individuals to combine both ruler and Isiac cult in one ritual act. It is noteworthy that of the total number of the extant double dedications either from the Ptolemaic kingdom or relating to the Ptolemies, the majority addresses Sarapis and Isis.[51] Although sometimes double dedications evoke other gods as well (traditional Greek deities, mainly Zeus, Hermes and Herakles, or Egyptian gods especially in the Fayum and Philai), double dedications to the Isiac deities are more numerous and cover a wider chronological range, since they appear systematically during the centuries of Ptolemaic rule, from Ptolemy I to Ptolemy XII.[52] The continuity of this mentality and practice indicates that dedications to both the Isiac deities and the Ptolemies by individuals constituted a very popular form of worship.[53] Dedicants outside and inside the Ptolemaic borders were familiarized with a cultural schema which correlated the Ptolemaic kings with Sarapis and Isis and propagated a special bond between them.

In this respect it is not coincidental that the first extant dedication of this type is also the first extant text which refers to Sarapis and can be dated with certainty. At the same time it is one of the first texts addressing Ptolemaios I as king (βασιλεύς). The confluence of so many different elements in such a succinct text cannot be random. The inscription was found in Alexandria and it is dated in the reign of Ptolemaios I (between 306–285 BCE):

> ὑπὲρ βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου καὶ τῶν τέκνων Σαράπιδι, Ἴσιδι, Νικάνωρ και Νίκανδρος Νίκωνος Πολυδεύκειοι.[54]

There has been an extensive scholarly debate on the meanings of the preposition ὑπέρ. Accordingly, it has been translated in various ways: 'on behalf of', 'for', 'in honour of'.[55] These problems of translation reflect an ambiguity of meaning. This expression has been part of inscriptional vocabulary since the Archaic period, mainly in the context of private dedications. In

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51 In chronological order: *I.Alex.Ptol.* 1; 5; *OGIS* 64; *I.Delta* 1.234.4; *I.Alex.Ptol.* 18–20; *OGIS* 82; *I.Philae* 5; 16; 34; *RICIS* 401/0401.

52 Analysis of this dedicatory type together with a useful catalogue demonstrating the supremacy of Sarapis and Isis in double dedications in Iossif 2005 *passim*, see pp. 244–245 for Sarapis and Isis, with tables 1–2.

53 The evidence examined by Iossif 2005 points to the fact that this type of dedication should be valued as an inscriptional particularity of the Ptolemaic kingdom. From the 88 dedications with ὑπέρ cited by Iossif (2005, 241), 81 refer to the Ptolemies, only three to the Seleucids and four to the Attalids.

54 *I.Alex.Ptol.* 1: 'For King Ptolemaios and his children, to Sarapis and Isis, Nikanor and Nikandros, sons of Nikon, from the *demos* of Polydeukes (have made this dedication)'.

55 Fraser 1972a, 226–227; Iossif 2005, 237; Bingen 2007, 276.

its canonical use, it refers to a person who is perceived as close to the dedicant (usually a family member or friend), and *for* whom the dedicant is making the offering. This use is, of course, retained during the Hellenistic period. However, it is also extended to individuals who lie outside the dedicant's *oikos*. Specifically, the ὑπέρ-clause can now be used for the ruler and his *oikos*, that is, the members of his dynasty. It introduces a third member to intervene in the dual relation between dedicant and god. This cultural framework alters the identity of the dedicant who now implicitly assumes an extended role by presenting himself or herself as the ruler's subject. In this way, the ὑπέρ-clause introduces a sense of hierarchy within the social environment in private dedications.

This popular inscriptional expression marks a transition in the perceptions and attitudes of the people of the Ptolemaic kingdom. The Greek-speaking inhabitants of Egypt, coming from different parts of the Greek world, had migrated to a land where they either belonged to or were linked in manifold ways to the ruling class. At the same time, however, they were the subjects of a Greek-speaking monarch who eagerly supported the advancement of Greek civilization. This monarch was acquiring divine or semi-divine status: he could be compared to or identified with a god, a semi-god, or a hero.[56] In this context, the subjects of Ptolemaic rulers used familiar modes of expression (specifically the traditional epigraphic formula with ὑπέρ + genitive) in order to encapsulate a different concept. They were honouring the king and his family, alluding to dynastic continuance, and, through the linguistic connection, bringing together the divine and the royal couple. In this sense the double dedications with ὑπέρ can be placed at the beginning of a process of connecting the Ptolemaic kings with Sarapis and Isis, which, in the first decades of the third century BCE, was gradually propagated through a complex cultural language.

The double dedications with dative (*to*) constitute a further step in the connection between Isiac and ruler cult. They appear a few decades after the double dedications with ὑπέρ and, in this case, the dedicants are eliminating the distance between the Ptolemaic kings and the Isiac deities, since the offering is made *to* both the royal and the divine couples. One of the first double dedications with the dative form is an inscription from the Delta, dated to the reign of Ptolemaios III:

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56 The bibliography on ruler and dynastic cult is extensive; for a summary of trends in scholarship with bibliographical references, see Buraselis and Aneziri 2004, 172–185; Pfeiffer 2008b.

> Σαράπιδι καὶ Ἴσιδι καὶ βασιλεῖ Πτολεμαίωι καὶ βασιλίσσηι Βερενίκηι Θεοῖς Εὐεργέταις.[57]

In this inscription, as in all double dedications formed with the dative, it is not clear whether the dative referring to the divine couple is the object of the missing verb (making the royal couple the object of worship)[58] or a dative connoting advantage or grace (thus honouring the king and queen). Regardless of the syntactical use, the arrangement of the clause alludes to a certain intention. The use of the same case as well as the connection of the nouns with *καί* denote that, in the mind of the dedicants, there is a strong association between the divine couple of Sarapis and Isis and the kings of Egypt.

An Additional Quality: Sarapis as a Saviour God

The evolution of dynastic connotations around the figure of Sarapis was inspired by the royal household, but it took its final form through a process of interaction between the political authority and the Greek-speaking population of Egypt. By them, however, he was not viewed only as protector of the king who could guarantee stability and success for their country. It is likely that, if they had persisted in worshipping only this feature of his divine personality, the god would not have survived after the third century BCE, when the Ptolemies were generously supporting his cult. In the same period that the cult was acquiring dynastic overtones, Sarapis' worshippers also viewed him as a god who could appeal to the individual, primarily as a saviour god.

Sarapis specialized in a certain kind of salvation. He addressed the problems and needs of individuals. Although the fate of his adherents might have been inextricably connected with the societies in which they were living, in their relationship with the god they acted mainly as single worshippers. Sarapis was, therefore, understood as *epekoos*, a god who could listen to their prayers and change the course of events in their favour.[59] He communicated with them primarily, but not exclusively, through dream epiphanies

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57 *I.Delta* 1.234, l. 4 (247–221 BCE): 'To Sarapis and Isis and King Ptolemaios and Queen Berenike, the Benefactor Gods'.

58 So Jossif 2005, 248.

59 Sarapis as *epekoos* in: *RICIS* 115/0201, 202/0197, 202/0198, 202/0363, 304/0902, 501/0113, 501/0126, 503/1201, 704/0304; *SEG* 27.1018; for *epekoos* see Weinreich 1912; the evolution and culmination of this characteristic of Sarapis can be seen in a literary papyrus dated to the third century CE (Page 1932, 424–429, no. 96).

which sometimes took place in temples constructed as incubation sanctuaries.[60] The salvation he offered was twofold: he could cure the sick or save those in danger; in both cases, most often the salvation was understood to be miraculous. The salvation had also another dimension: once saved, the god's worshippers felt the need to demonstrate their experience in public. This was frequently perceived as the execution of a command given by the god himself. Imperative epiphanies, picturing a god who gives orders and demands that his miraculous role should be publicized, became structural elements in Isiac cults and were articulated primarily by two epigraphic formulas (κατὰ πρόσταγμα and κατ' ἐπιταγήν).

Among the vast number of monuments thanking Sarapis for his beneficial healing intervention an exceptional type of reciprocal offering was provided by a famous patient, Demetrios of Phaleron. During his stay in Alexandria, Demetrios experienced some problems with his eyesight and he was immediately taken to Sarapis' temple, where the god cured him. Demetrios expressed his gratitude in both poetry and prose: he wrote five books describing the cures the god had dictated and he also composed paeans; the latter became very popular and were sung for centuries after their composition. According to Diogenes Laertios (5.76.7–10) and Artemidoros (2.44.23–30) his works were very influential. Indeed, from the third century BCE onwards, dozens of monuments were erected in order to demonstrate *in public* the god's healing qualities.[61]

During the same period that Demetrios of Phaleron praised the god's therapeutic power, another patient visited the dream oracle of Memphis and was miraculously cured. His reciprocal offering of gratitude was the construction of a small building erected at the *dromos* that was incorporated in the ritual activity of the sanctuary as the place for those who cared for the god's holy lamps (λυχνάπτιον). In the dedicatory inscription he confesses that, before visiting the temple, he had tried many other cures but all of them had failed. It was only when he came to Sarapis that he managed to find effective healing.[62]

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[60] For a selective presentation of important Greek sources and dream epiphanies in Egyptian literature see Borgeaud and Volokhine 2000, 46–53.

[61] In this, as in other respects, Sarapis is linked to Asklepios, cf. Stambaugh 1972, 75–78.

[62] *SB* 1.1934 = *I.Louvre* 11 (following the restoration of Fraser 1972b, 402 with n. 498); for the dating and commentary see Wilcken 1927, 34–35; Lauer and Picard 1955, 176; Fraser 1972a, 253.

The god, however, was not limited to easing the hardships of illness. His benefits extended to all aspects of everyday life, including those instances when people felt threatened and had to turn to the divine for help. The soteriological aspect of the Isiac gods, regarding the perils lurking in sea and land, became a shared belief of the Hellenistic world. The devotees of Sarapis and Isis tended to emphasize the severity of the hazards they had to face, as demonstrated by the recurrent inscriptional expression σωθείς/σωθέντες ἐκ πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων κινδύνων, which was used in the framework of Isiac worship in many cities of the Hellenistic *oikoumene*.[63] This quality of the Isiac gods was a basic aspect of their divine personalities already by the third century BCE. Appeals to Sarapis and Isis for help occurred frequently in border areas, where the hold of the Ptolemaic state was not felt as strongly as in Alexandria. Philai is an indicative case.[64] There, between 209 and 204 BCE, a man named Sokrates from faraway Lokris, probably a mercenary, makes a dedication to Sarapis and Isis evoking their salvation power.[65] We do not know the dangers he was facing, but, given the place, he was probably implying that there were raids by Nubian tribes.

Ritual singing, participation in the dream-oracle's ceremonies and dedications of various types of monuments placed at central locations in the major cities of Egypt, all of these would certainly have shaped people's imaginaries concerning the god.

When the inhabitants of Alexandria entered the sacred precinct of the Sarapieion—the largest temple of their city set in a conspicuous position crowning the sole natural hill of Alexandria—they would have admired the altars built for the performance of the royal cult. Strolling around the precinct they would have seen votive offerings to Sarapis and the members of the royal household. They would probably have gazed at the image of the god resembling that of their king: seated on his throne, stern and respectful, holding a sceptre in his raised left hand.[66]

The priests of the temple, or other temple personnel, would have recited for the visitors the stories of the advent of the god, as quoted centuries later

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63 *I.Délos* 2119; *SIRIS* 39, 198, 280, 406; *BGU* 2.423; cf. Aristid. *Or*. 45.33–34.

64 For Philai as the border of Egypt cf. *I.Philae* 158 II, ll. 1–2: νῆσον ἐ⟨ς⟩, Αἰγύπτοιο πέρας, περικαλλέα, σεμνήν, Ἴσιδος, Αἰθιόπων πρόσθεν, ἀφιξάμενοι; and the epigram of Catilius, *Anth. Graec*. 159, ll. 11–12: καλὸν πέρας Αἰγύπτοιο | ἐμμὶ καὶ Αἰθιόπων γᾶς ὅριον νεάτας.

65 *I.Philae* 5: ὑπὲρ βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου καὶ βασιλίσσης Ἀρσινόης, θεῶν Φιλοπατόρων καὶ Πτολεμαίωι τῶι υἱῶι αὐτῶν, Σαράπιδι, Ἴσιδι Σωτῆρσι Σωκράτης ν Ἀπολλοδώρου Λοκρός.

66 For the image of Sarapis see Hornbostel, 1973, 72–91.

by Tacitus or Plutarch; alternatively, maybe they would have described the deeds and wonders, the miracles and the god's savior qualities, as they are recorded in the so-called aretalogies.[67]

Sarapis from the Egyptian Perspective

But how did the Egyptians view the god? Could they relate to him in other ways? Were they interested in the same attributes that were so eagerly embraced by the Greeks?

The view expressed by some scholars is that the Egyptians did not show any particular interest in Sarapis or that they were hostile to the god.[68] To a large extent this view is certainly valid. However, it also needs to be further qualified, taking into account regional, social and cultural considerations.

Indeed, the Egyptians perceived Sarapis mainly as a linguistic and cultural translation of Osiris-Apis or simply Osiris into the Greek system of meanings. Sarapis was not introduced in order to replace his Egyptian prototypes. The extant evidence confirms that the cults of Apis and Osiris continued undisturbed well into the Roman period. Egyptian pilgrims continued to visit Memphis and revere the Apis bull; major temples were constructed in honour of Osiris during the Ptolemaic period. Not even the Greek-speaking population of Egypt understood Sarapis to be a deity completely identical to Osiris. For this reason they sometimes made dedications to both deities.[69]

Yet it remains beyond question that these deities were understood as connected to each other. The official view of the Egyptian priesthood (which, as noted above, had substantially contributed to the foundation of the cult) was that Sarapis constituted a linguistic and cultural translation and variation of Osiris-Apis. This view is demonstrated by bilingual inscriptions, decrees and other documents which, for various reasons, had to be formulated 'with the holy alphabet both the Egyptian and the Greek' (*I.Delta* 1.989, l. 1). Examples of these bilingual inscriptions can be found on the foundation plaques of important temples. The placement of plaques in the foundations of a building was an Egyptian custom that must have had a magical

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67 See for instance *P.Oxy.* 11.1382 (second cent. CE), entitled ἀρετὴ ἡ περὶ Συρίωνα κυβερνήτη, read to the worshippers of Sarapis. It narrated the miraculous salvation of the god's devotees. There is evidence that even in the Ptolemaic period specific temple personnel, the *aretalogoi*, were attached to the Sarapieion of Delos (*I.Délos* 1263, 2080). See also the discussion on the aretalogies and the *aretalogoi* in A. Jördens in this volume.

68 E.g. Wilcken 1927, 88; Huss 2001, 245–246 (possible hostility; cf. Huss 1994, 165–177).

69 E.g. *OGIS* 97 (Taposiris Parva, 205–181 BCE).

function, since no one could see them. Bilingual foundation plaques were used in many temples built during the Ptolemaic period, among which was the great Sarapieion of Alexandria. Made of precious materials such as gold, silver, bronze, and turquoise-green glazed terracotta,[70] these plates are inscribed in the Greek version:

> Βασιλεὺς Πτολεμαῖος Πτολεμαίου καὶ Ἀρσινόης, θεῶν Ἀδελφῶν, Σαράπει, τὸν ναὸν καὶ τὸ τέμενος.[71]

The Egyptian text, however, demonstrates the range and boundaries of Greek and Egyptian cultural translation:

> The king of Upper and Lower Egypt, heir of the Brother Gods, chosen by Amon, powerful is the life of Re, the son of Re, Ptolemaios III, living forever, beloved of Ptah, has made the temple and the sacred enclosure for Osiris-Apis.[72]

The priests, who must have been responsible for the formulation of the text, translated Sarapis as Osiris-Apis; that is, they understood the god to be a Greek version of an Egyptian prototype. This was also the conviction of another priest, Hor, who in his famous archive speaks of 'the Great Serapeum which is in Alexandria'.[73]

This idea was not inconsistent with Egyptian conceptions of the divine. Sarapis could have been understood as one of the many names which were attributed to Osiris. A multiplicity of names was indicative of a god's grandeur and abundance: the more epithets or attributes he acquired, the greater his fields of influence and power became.[74]

The perception of Sarapis as an *interpretatio Graeca* of Osiris seems to have appealed to the Egyptian population. An example is a bilingual inscription probably from Koptos. It is a stele of black granite, dated between the first century BCE and the first century CE and inscribed in demotic and Greek. The Greek version is formulated as Σαράπιδι θεῶι μεγάλωι, Πανίσκος Σαραπίωνο[ς] (ἔτους) ιη΄, Παχὼν κζ΄,[75] whereas the demotic text praises Osiris: 'Koptite Osiris, foremost of the Gold House, gives life to Pamin, son of Pa-sher-Usir'.[76]

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70 McKenzie, Gibson and Reyes 2004, 81.

71 *I.Alex.Ptol.* 13 (246–221 BCE): 'King Ptolemaios, son of Ptolemaios and Arsinoe, the Brother gods, (has dedicated) to Sarapis the temple and the sacred enclosure'.

72 Translation and hieroglyphic text in Jouguet 1946, 681.

73 Ray 1976, no. 3, verso, ll. 19–20.

74 See Hornung 1996, 86–89.

75 Trans.: 'To Sarapis, the great god, Paniskos, son of Sarapion, 18th year, 27th of Pachon'.

76 Translation by Pfeiffer 2008a, 391; for the demotic text see Vleeming 2001, no. 250.

The same attitude can be observed on the basis of the funerary stelae of Abydos. The Greek-speaking population that followed this old Egyptian custom used the traditional Egyptian decoration. These stelae, when they were inscribed by the Greek-speaking population, were dedicated to Sarapis; when they were inscribed by Egyptians, however, they were presented as an offering to Osiris.[77]

In other words, Egyptians continued their traditional worship to a large extent without regard to the religious experiments of their rulers. However, when Egyptians chose to refer to Sarapis this took place in a Greek cultural context. An example is the following plaque from Alexandria:

> Ὑπὲρ βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου θεοῦ νέου Διονύσου καὶ τῶν τέκνων αὐτοῦ, θεῶν Φιλαδέλφων, Εἴσιδι θεᾶι μεγίστῃ καὶ Σέραπι θεῶι μεγίστῳ Νεφερῶς Βαβαῦτος ἐκοσμήσατο τὸν ἱερὸν τόπον τοῖς κυρίοις θεοῖς μεγίστοις (ἔτους) κθ, Παχὼνι κθ.[78]

The dedicant, Nepheros, who was probably of Egyptian origin, uses the Greek way of addressing the divine couple, the double dedication to connect divine and human authority. It should be noted that the inscription is dated to the later Ptolemaic period, indicating that only after an extensive period of cultural osmosis could an Egyptian invoke the god as such.

Conversely, in contexts where the Egyptian element prevailed, such as Memphis, Sarapis is mentioned as Osiris-Apis not only by Egyptians, but also occasionally by Greeks. Oserapis or Osiris-Apis, that is, the osirified Apis bull, was Sarapis' immediate ancestor. After the foundation of the cult in Alexandria there is no mention of this divine name in extant Greek documents.[79] The reason is that, for the Greeks, Osiris-Apis was identified with Sarapis. The sole exception is Memphis, where there is still mention of Oserapis in a Greek language framework (*UPZ* 1.19; 54; 57; 106=107), thus demonstrating that the religious and cultural equations valid for Alexandria were only blurred in traditionally Egyptian cultural environments.

Apart from the cultural context, the Egyptian view of the god was also determined by the social and political climate. From the second half of the

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77 Examples of these stelae in the Cairo Catalogue: for the hieroglyphic stelae see Kamal 1904–1905, nos. 22122–22124; demotic stelae in Spielberg 1904, 31091, 31097–31098; Greek stelae in Milne 1905, 9208–92011.

78 *I.Alex.Ptol.* 34 (52 BCE): 'For King Ptolemaios, god, new Dionysos and for his children, the Brother-Loving gods, to Isis, the greatest goddess and to Sarapis, the greatest god, Nepheros, son of Babautos, has decorated this sacred space for the lords and greatest gods, 29th year, the 29th of Pachon'.

79 Before the foundation of the cult, however, Oserapis is evoked by Artemisia in her famous curse (*UPZ* 1.1) dated to the last quarter of the fourth century BCE.

third century BCE onwards, the Ptolemaic regime had to face many native uprisings. Some of them evolved from occasional expressions of discontent into major revolts. For almost 20 years (206–186 BCE) Upper Egypt had its own pharaohs based in Thebes (Haronnophris and Chaonnophris). Later in Upper Egypt (in 131 BCE), the revolt of Harsiesis (131–129 BCE) broke out.

The famous 'Oracle of the Potter' is dated to this period of Egyptian uprisings and may be thus understood as an expression of the Egyptian resistance to Ptolemaic rule.[80] It is a text written in Greek prophesying the destruction of Egypt, directed against the Greek ruling class. Although it does not refer expressly to Sarapis, it implies the process of constructing the Sarapis cult in Alexandria. According to the *Potter's Oracle*, through the cult the city created a false artefact that symbolized the beginning of the end: ἄρξει δὲ τῆς Αἰγύπτου [εἰσβὰ]ς εἰς τὴν κτιζομένη[ν] πόλιν, ἥτις τοὺς θεοὺς [ἐκ και]νοῦ χωνεύσασα ἴδιον πλ[ά]σμα ἑαυτῇ ποιήσει.[81] Since Sarapis, as we saw above, was inextricably connected to the Ptolemaic rule, it was only to be expected that, in situations of conflict, he would be viewed in a hostile way.

Conclusion

The history of the Sarapis cult in Egypt demonstrates the tensions inherent in a lively relationship between the god and his worshippers subject to changes and modifications depending on the social and political context.

I would describe the evolution of the Sarapis cult with a textual metaphor. We can understand Osiris-Apis (Oserapis), or simply Osiris, as an original text written in Egyptian that was old, but popular. Greeks collaborated with Egyptians and translated the text. However, this process was not a simple translation because it constituted adaptation as well as translation. In the years that followed, the text circulated and acquired new interpretations, yet the Greek text did not denounce its bonds with the Egyptian. In some places, the Egyptian background was emphasized more, whereas in others it was overlooked; in other contexts they both coexisted. However, in the framework of differentiated social and political conditions, such as upris-

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80 Internal textual evidence dates the text to the second century BCE, and possibly before the revolution of Harsiesis in Upper Egypt. According to Huss (1994, 173) the text should be dated after the end of the 6th Syrian War (170–168 BCE); text, translation and commentary in Koenen 1968 and 2002.

81 *P.Oxy*. 22.2332, col. 1, ll. 1–4: 'He will rule Egypt moving to the city being built. This city moulding gods anew will create to itself its own artefact'; translation in Ladynin, 2007, 1, slightly modified.

ings, the Greek translation would be understood as dangerous and it would be attacked and discredited. Given the above, it constitutes a noteworthy historical irony that Sarapis and Isis were integrated in the social imaginaries of the cities of the Hellenistic *oikoumene* as the Egyptian gods par excellence.[82]

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82 Assmann 2003, 375.

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PART TWO

MODES OF CULTURAL APPROPRIATION

ARETALOGIES

Andrea Jördens

> Jeder, der sich auch nur ein wenig mit der Aretalogie beschäftigt hat, weiß, was für ein riesengroßes Gebiet unter diesem vielfach mit bewußter Unbestimmtheit und Freiheit verwendeten Namen zusammengefaßt wird, und wie schwer es ist, auch nur einigermaßen einen Überblick über dieses Gebiet zu bekommen.

This was the reason why the young graduate student Albert Kiefer decided to give his doctoral dissertation the consciously limiting title of *Aretalogische Studien*.[1] What he observed in the year 1929 has remained true to the present day; indeed, one could say that it is more correct than ever, in view of the flood of publications over the last eighty and more years dealing with this 'immense territory'. The more surprising, then, that despite all this constant effort, neither a clearer definition nor a convincing reconstruction of the genesis of this literary genre seem hitherto to have been achieved; one may even wonder whether we can talk about a literary genre at all. What is more, a quite different understanding of the matter has been established in the disciplines involved, namely those dealing with the Classical World, on the one hand, and Egyptology, on the other. Agreement exists only insofar as the term designates a typical phenomenon of the Hellenistic period.[2]

Thus, it seems appropriate to look for a new approach, something that can be hoped for only by dealing more closely with the Egyptian background. The importance of Egyptian participation in the creation of this new literary form can hardly be exaggerated, as demonstrated by the prominent role which Isis and Sarapis evidently play in this connection. Indeed, such

[1] Kiefer 1929, 1: 'Anyone who has ever dealt with aretalogy, however little, knows what immense territory is covered by this name, a name used often quite consciously in an unclear, free manner, and such a person will know how difficult it is to obtain even a very general idea of this area' (trans. D. Fear).

[2] For an attempt to establish the phenomenon as early as the mid-fourth century BCE, though, cf. esp. Longo 1969, who refers to the Athenian dedicatory inscription *IG* II^2 4326 = *Syll*^{3} 1151 = Longo 1969, 125, no. 67 (: Ἀθηνάαι Μένεια ἀνέθηκεν ὄψιν ἰδοῦσα ἀρετὴν τῆς θεοῦ, around 350 BCE) as 'Il testo per noi più antico [...] che non esito a definire una brevissima, la più breve possibile aretalogia' (p. 23), cf. also p. 53; on this, see also Grandjean 1975, 5, esp. n. 19.

close relations have long been observed; more profound considerations on the nature of these relations, however, have hardly ever been made. Nevertheless, when, as here, we are dealing with a phenomenon probably first appearing in Hellenistic times, we cannot avoid posing the question of possible mutual influence. This means that we should exchange the familiar Greek-centric perspective for a more expansive view. It is therefore necessary to consider not only the long-term effects of Alexander's conquests, through which Greeks became aware of unknown regions and cultures, but also to reappraise to a much more thorough extent the contribution of these societies to Greek life in Hellenistic times.

In what follows, then, I shall attempt to trace the Egyptian share in the formation of Hellenistic aretalogy, concentrating specifically on the role of cult practice in this process. Particular emphasis shall be laid on the question which type of relations and influences—including mutual ones—can be observed and what significance these had for the formation process.

Different Views

The *locus classicus* for aretalogy is surely Martin P. Nilsson's description in his *Geschichte der griechischen Religion*,[3] which therefore can serve as the starting point here. Although Nilsson expresses himself guardedly as far as the idea of aretalogy as an independent literary genre is concerned, he is still able to establish a number of common elements to all the texts subsumed under this heading. Thus,

> It is typical of the Hellenistic period that, while the older times had praises of a god which talked of his mythical deeds and his cult, now hymns were composed, not only treading the path of those older times, but also his ἀρεταί, miraculous deeds of the present, were praised, a sign at the same time of that newly awakened, conscious propaganda which had its start in the cult of Asklepios. Such praises are called aretalogies in recent literature on the subject, a word quite rare in antiquity.[4]

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[3] Cf. *inter alia* Smith 1971, 175 with n. 17; Auffarth 1996 under [1].

[4] Nilsson 1961, 228 (trans. D. Fear): 'Es ist für die hellenistische Zeit bezeichnend, daß, während in älterer Zeit die Lobpreisungen eines Gottes von seinen mythischen Taten und seinem Kulte redeten, man jetzt, nicht nur in den alten Gleisen wandelnd, Hymnen verfaßte, sondern auch seine ἀρεταί, seine Wundertaten in der Gegenwart pries, ein Zeichen zugleich jener erwachenden, bewußten Propaganda, die im Kult des Asklepios begann. Solche Lobpreisungen werden in der modernen Literatur Aretalogien genannt, ein Wort, das in der Antike selten ist'.

After listing a number of pertinent examples, Nilsson summarises:

> As far as the form is concerned, it appears that one may not speak of a particular literary genre—verse and prose are both represented—but rather the texts are related by content, which is no longer mythological, but rather praises the good deeds of the divinity in the present; this is what is new and significant.[5]

Sceptical as Nilsson may be with regard to the question of genre, he evidently sees the aretalogies as testimony to a changed time, when 'superstition and the belief in miracles'[6] represented the central elements of the religious worldview. As he is concerned principally with describing the phenomenon *per se*, he deals only marginally with questions of its genesis. Indeed, he simply notes that 'the miracle tales of Epidauros … [could] at least be counted as the precursors of this genre',[7] and dismisses the idea that profane aretalogies, such as the *aristeia* of a mythical hero, were the archetypes.[8] Things appear to be different, however, in the case of the pertinent *nomen agentis*:

> But ἀρεταλόγος is a fixed term, namely a man who tells such tales. In the cults of the Egyptian gods there were even professional aretalogists, who are named in Delian inscriptions, one of which was dedicated by an aretalogist κατὰ πρόσταγμα, while a second contains a dedication to Isis-Tyche by a dream interpreter and aretalogist. It is characteristic of the type of tales told by these people, and how they were judged, that the word means "liar, teller of tall tales" in Latin. […] The aretalogists who addressed the common people worked with such crude methods that they were laughed at by society circles. But they knew what they had to do to make propaganda for their deities.[9]

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5 Nilsson 1961, 228 (trans. D. Fear): 'Es erhellt, daß, was die Form betrifft, es nicht berechtigt ist, von einer besonderen Literaturgattung zu sprechen—Verse und Prosa wechseln ab—, die Verwandtschaft liegt nur im Inhalt, der nicht mehr mythologisch ist, sondern die Wohltaten des Gottes in der Gegenwart preist; dies ist das Neue und Bedeutsame'.

6 Nilsson 1961, title of the respective chapter: 'Aberglaube und Wunderglaube'.

7 Nilsson 1961, 228: '… auch die Mirakelberichte von Epidauros werden wenigstens als Vorstufe dieser Gattung zugezählt'; cf. also the above quote on the role of the cult of Asklepios.

8 Thus contra Kiefer 1929, cf. Nilsson 1961, 228 with n. 3: 'Die Behauptungen des Verfassers, daß die profanen Aretalogien primär seien, ist [sic!] nicht glaublich'; similarly dismissive Aly 1935, 14–15. In later literature, this assumption is no longer even touched upon.

9 Nilsson 1961, 228–229 (trans. D. Fear): 'Ein fester Terminus ist dagegen ἀρεταλόγος, ein Mann nämlich, der solche Erzählungen vorträgt. Im Kulte der ägyptischen Götter gab es sogar berufsmäßige Aretalogen, die in delischen Inschriften begegnen, deren eine von einem Aretalogen κατὰ πρόσταγμα gesetzt ist, während eine zweite eine der Isis-Tyche von einem Traumdeuter und Aretalogen gesetzte Weihung enthält. Für die Art der Erzählungen, die diese Leute vortrugen, und ihre Wertung ist es bezeichnend, daß das Wort im Lateinischen soviel wie "Aufschneider", "Lügner" bedeutet. […] Die Aretalogen, die sich ans Volk wandten,

Nilsson again closes with the statement that this is a new and significant sign of the changes in the religious sphere during the Hellenistic period, without inquiring any further about the circumstances.

Admittedly, evidence is meagre. If we wish nowadays to get a clearer picture, we end up more or less depending upon the same two dedicatory inscriptions already mentioned by Nilsson that were found in the so-called Sarapieion C at Delos and dedicated to Isis. The first one is engraved on the upper side of a pedestal, on which are visible two reliefs of the soles of feet, and was probably dedicated before 166 BCE by the aretalogist Pyrgias:[10]

> Pyrgias, *aretalogos*, (dedicates) by the order of Sarapis (?) the base. [- - -]myris, Maiandria, Sesame, (to) Isis (and) to Anubis.

The second inscription was carved in the year 115/114 BCE on the base of a statue and contains the dedication of the *oneirokrites* and *aretalogos* Ptolemaios and his wife:[11]

> Ptolemaios, son of Dionysios, of Polyrrhenia, interpreter of dreams and *aretalogos*, and his wife Kallistion, daughter of Marsyas, of Antiochia, to Isis Tyche Protogeneia, for the people of the Athenians, in the priesthood of Gaios the Acharnian.

Recently, a third attestation has come to light: a Latin funerary inscription from Rome, dated to the third century CE, tells us that the *aretalogus Graecus* M. Iulius Eutychides died at the age of 18.[12] Other Latin evidence is found for the most part in literary works, and reflects the Roman penchant for mockery and ridicule more than containing useful information.[13] From this,

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arbeiteten mit so groben Mitteln, daß sie von der guten Gesellschaft belächelt wurden. Sie wußten aber, was sie tun mußten, um Propaganda für ihre Götter zu machen'.

10 *RICIS* 202/0186 (with pl. XLVII) = *I.Délos* 1263, with the inscription running around the edges: Πυργίας ἀρεταλόγος κατὰ π̣[ρ]όσταγ[μα Σαράπιδ]ος (?) τὸ βῆμα. [---]μυρίς, Μαιανδρία, Σησάμη Ἴσι, Ἀνούβι̣.

11 *RICIS* 202/0283 = *I.Délos* 2072 = *Syll*³ 1133: Πτολεμαῖος Διονυσίου Πολυρρήνιος, ὀνειροκρίτης καὶ ἀρεταλόγος, καὶ ἡ γυνὴ Καλλίστιον Μαρσύου Ἀντιόχισσα, Ἴσιδι Τύχηι Πρωτογενείαι, ὑπὲρ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων, ἐπὶ ἱερέως Γαίου Ἀχαρνέως. In the same year, the same couple undertakes yet another dedication in the same sanctuary mentioning only Ptolemaios' function as *oneirokrites*: Πτολεμαῖος ὀνειροκρίτης καὶ Καλλίστιον ἡ γυνὴ Τύχηι Πρωτογενείαι Ἴσιδι, ἐπὶ ἱερέως Γαίου Ἀχαρνέως (*RICIS* 202/0284 = *I.Délos* 2073).

12 *RICIS* 501/0214 = *AE* 1999, no. 349: *D*(*is*) *M*(*anibus*) *M*(*arco*) *Iulio Eutychide aretalogo Graeco quietissimo piissimo reverentissimo vixit an*(*nos*) *XVIII*.

13 Cf. Suet. *Aug*. 74; Iuv. *Sat*. 15.13–16; Porphyr. *ad Hor. serm*. 1.1.20 and—in Greek—Ps.-Manetho, *Apotelesm*. 4, 444–449; hence Merkelbach 1962, cf. n. 117 below. In the older literature this evidence was repeatedly examined in detail, and to some extent debated; cf. esp. Kiefer 1929, 5–7; with the attempt to correlate the aretalogists with the various types of storytellers that we know from other cultures, Scobie 1979, 237–243.

at any rate, we cannot discover much about the actual tasks of the *aretalogoi* in any detail.

If we leave these texts aside, being as they are of a late period and not very helpful anyway, then we can only observe that the *aretalogoi* had a Greek background and performed some activities in the ambit of Egyptian deities. Had earlier interpreters, under the influence of the Latin evidence, believed the *aretalogoi* to be garrulous beggar-philosophers,[14] the first in-depth interpretation of the concept was presented in 1885 by Salomon Reinach. Reinach already recognised that the *aretai* were *miracula*, in line with Hellenistic usage, but perceived them rather as *omina* and *prodigia*:[15]

> If ἀρεταί meant miracles the ἀρεταλόγος is one who interprets and reveals the wonderful things such as omens, sudden noises, deformities of men and animals; the ὀνειροκρίτης performs a similar task in interpreting the visions appearing in mind during sleep. One who is both ἀρεταλόγος and ὀνειροκρίτης, like the person of Delos, interprets the waking apparitions and those during sleep, the daily and the nocturnal ones.

Indeed, Ptolemaios' two functions were repeatedly seen as basically related or even interchangeable. This assumption got some support by the close relations to Sarapis, which are strongly suggested by the place of discovery. Just this deity, after all, was known for his healing powers, typically connected with dream visions, to which the worldwide fame of his great sanctuary at Canopus was testimony.[16]

The suggestion that healing miracles were hidden among the *aretai* appeared to be further confirmed through the connection with the cult of Asklepios, inferred for linguistic reasons, namely, the odd appearance of *ā* in the compound ἀρεταλόγος. In Hellenistic times, here, instead of *ā* one should rather expect the *ē* of ἀρετή; accordingly, either the *ā* indicated great age, or the origin of the compound lay within a Doric dialectal context.[17]

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14 Cf. Crusius 1895, 671 ('schwatzhafte Bettelphilosophen'); Kiefer 1929, 25–26, pointing out that 'das Bild des moralisierenden Tugendschwätzers … noch heute in den Lexika sein Unwesen treibt' (p. 25); Smith 1971, 174–175.

15 Reinach 1885, esp. 265: 'Si ἀρεταί a signifié *miracles*, l'ἀρεταλόγος est celui qui interprète et qui dévoile les choses merveilleuses, telles que présages, bruits soudains, difformités des hommes et des animaux; l'ὀνειροκρίτης se propose une tâche analogue, en interprétant les visions qui se présentent à l'esprit pendant le sommeil. Celui qui est à la fois ἀρεταλόγος et ὀνειροκρίτης, comme le personnage de Délos, interprète les apparitions de la veille et du sommeil, celles du jour et celles de la nuit'.

16 Above all, Strabo 17.1.17 (p. 801); cf. esp. Dunand 1973, I 63–65; also Merkelbach 1995, 214; Bommas 2005, 26, 103.

17 Cf. esp. Kiefer 1929, 26–37.

As there was no evidence to be found for the former hypothesis, everything seemed to favour the latter one, more precisely, for a connection with the sanctuary at Epidauros and the so-called Ἀσκλαπιοῦ Ἰάματα.[18] These *Iamata* were laid down on a number of stelai that had been set up in gratitude for the miraculous cures that had taken place and were thus duly reported. In some of these inscriptions, the power of the deity that constantly manifested itself anew in these very cures, that is to say the deity's *dynamis*—or better, *arete*—is expressly mentioned.[19]

As has been long recognised, there was a significant shift in the concept of *arete*; in fact, in contrast to the meaning in the Classical period, no difference is any longer made between the potency to effect grand deeds and the grand deed itself, whether a healing, as here, or some other benefit. Certainly the former and older sense was never completely lost, as it is still perceptible in the numerous inscriptions dedicated to someone ἀρετῆς ἕνεκεν. Yet, one can assume that only those personalities were honoured with monuments, who had, owing to their *arete*, more often than not performed some very concrete service(s) for the grateful dedicator(s).

In the case of a deity, it was doubtless much the same, with the difference that the miraculous cures were supposed to stand at the beginning of the written record. In the course of time, the respective tales developed into a fixed scheme, in which typically the fact was emphasised that recovery was not to be expected, but that the patient had come to the holy sanctuary nonetheless to seek divine help; that the deity had then appeared to him or her in a dream and announced the cure; that this actually occurred after awakening and, being against all probability, conjured up general astonishment.

'Miracle' and 'wonder', *arete* and *thauma*, could consequently be used practically as synonyms for the supernatural intervention of a deity. Both, then, are regarded as constitutive elements of aretalogy, as reporting on this intervention was apparently not only the task of the inscribed stelai, but

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18 Thus for the first time Herzog 1931, 49–50, cf. Aly 1935, 14 and esp. Longo 1969, 14, 24–27 and 63–75, nos. 1–43; on the other documents from the sanctuary of Asklepios at Epidauros, cf. esp. Girone 1998, 39–74, no. II. Thus, it is only consistent that according to Bommas 2005, 112, Asklepios and Sarapis in Imperial Epidauros were equated.

19 Thus in *IG* IV^2 1, 128, l. 57 with Longo 1969, 75–77, no. 44 = Girone 1998, 46–52, no. II.2 (ca. 280 BCE); *IG* IV^2 1, 125, l. 2 with Longo 1969, 79–80, no. 48 = Girone 1998, 53–57, II.3 (3rd cent. BCE); *Syll*^{3} 1172, l. 10 with Longo 1969, 80–82, no. 49 = Girone 1998, 108–111, no. III.10 (2nd/1st cent. BCE); *IGUR* 1.148, ll. 1–6 = *Syll*^{3} 1173 = *IGRR* 1.41, l. 5 with Longo 1969, 84–86, no. 52 = Girone 1998, 157–160, no. V.2a (211–217 CE).

that of the *aretalogoi* as well. In the course of time, as Otto Weinreich put it, a 'merkwürdige Gattung von hellenistischer Kleinliteratur'[20] was to develop from this, a genre which was close to fables, novellas, and novels with its often fantastic reports. As the concept was demonstrably valid for other manifestations of divine *arete*, the close connections with the miraculous healings were gradually loosened, so that the deeds of other divinities could be presented in just the same form. A 'formgeschichtlicher Zusammenhang zum Evangelium',[21] observed early on, enabled the miracle reports to survive in the mediaeval miracle books, which eventually made them one of the most successful genres of the ancient world.

If *arete* thus designated, in a broader sense, any miracle induced by a deity, then it is certainly no need to subsume only divine deeds that were beneficial to the persons concerned. After all, the miraculous intervention of the god(s) could be experienced not only as the unexpected deliverance from a seemingly desperate situation, but also as an unexpected coercion of blasphemers and evildoers. It is not so far off, then, to consider miraculous punishments as aretalogies as well,[22] nay, even the so-called confession inscriptions.[23]

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20 Weinreich 1919, 11–12.

21 Thus Auffarth 1996, under [3]; in recent times, cf. esp. Thyen 1994. There is a plethora of literature in this respect which can only be mentioned here, the more so as reflections on genre history constitute rather an exception; but cf. Smith 1971 who suggests to regard all narrations about divine men as aretalogies, and Kee 1973.

22 Merkelbach 1995, 219–220 § 402, esp. 219 with n. 3; with first samples already in the *Iamata*, cf. Herzog 1931, 56–57, 123–130; LiDonnici 1995, 40, esp. with n. 3.

23 Thus esp. Paz de Hoz 2009, who maintains that the 'public narration of a story in which the god becomes manifest by punishing an evil is already an aretalogy', complemented, as a rule, by 'many other internal elements', as were the acclamation of the god, the use of numerous epitheta or the praise as lord of the land (p. 359); cf. also Versnel 2011, 296 'essentially concise aretalogies'. Those cases in which the punishment leading to conversion consisted in an illness are related to the concept presented by Longo 1969; thus, for instance, *TAM* V.1, 317 = *SEG* 4.647 = Petzl 1994, 86–88, no. 68 = Longo 1969, 158–160, no. 80 (114/115 CE); *TAM* V.1, 440 = Petzl 1994, 63–65, no. 54 = Longo 1969, 160–161, no. 81 (118/119 CE); *TAM* V.1, 318 = *SEG* 4.648 = Petzl 1994, 88–90, no. 69 = Longo 1969, 163–165, no. 83 (156/157 CE); *TAM* V.1, 231 = Petzl 1994, 42–44, no. 35 = Longo 1969, 161–163, no. 82 (210/211 CE); *TAM* V.1, 464 = Petzl 1994, 40–42, no. 34 = Longo 1969, 165–166, no. 84 (3rd cent. CE?); cf. also Petzl 1994, xv with n. 40, who notes, however, that the term occurs but in the 'confession' of Diokles *TAM* V.1, 264 = Petzl 1994, 58–59, no. 50: ἐκολάσθην ἰς (*l.* εἰς) τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς καὶ ἐνέγραψα τὴν ἀρετήν (ll. 6–8; not in Longo 1969). As did Longo, Paz de Hoz applies to content-related criteria alone, but points out (p. 361): 'There is nevertheless, a fundamental difference between the aretalogies to Asclepius, Isis or Serapis and the confessions. While the former are expressions of the positive power of the gods, who cure incurable illnesses or are saviours and the bearers of civilization for mankind, the latter, the confessions, emphasizes the power of the god to

The actual and essential core of any aretalogy, according to this interpretation, was an event occurring against all expectation, lying outside human experience, and effecting a sudden, radical change in the state of affairs, all of which obviously manifested the *arete* of some divinity. If such an event was lacking, one should consequently not speak of an aretalogy. This view was last defended with great vigour by Reinhold Merkelbach who repeatedly and vehemently protested against any other categorisation. As he put it, the so-called 'Praises of Isis'[24] were 'usually called an "aretalogy", but this designation is misleading: the power of Isis is simply being praised in the most general form. An aretalogy testifies a single deed (ἀρετή, δύναμις), and is intended to prove, by naming witnesses, that the deity has produced a miracle, that the goddess really exists and has interfered with the life of man'.[25]

The criterion for belonging to the genre is thus made a purely content-related one, while the genre characteristics that are otherwise so typical, such as form or language, are given secondary status at best.[26] So as not to reduce the concept to a purely random one, Vincenzo Longo had already insisted on defining it more narrowly, and, in view of its supposed origins in the realm of miracle cures, to limit it to these.[27] Yet this strict principle of

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detect and to punish sins'. On a closer look, however, we will see that the common elements consist mainly, if not alone in the fact that all these texts are about divine power experienced by men.

[24] Thus Nock 1933, 40, for the first time; cf. also 1949; following him, Henrichs 1978, esp. 207 with n. 11, and 1984, but cf. Solmsen 1979, 43 and *passim*; for a closer examination, see also below.

[25] Merkelbach 1995, 113 with n. 4: 'Man nennt diesen Text (sc. *I.Kyme* 41) meistens eine "Aretalogie", aber diese Bezeichnung ist irreführend: Die Macht der Isis wird hier nur in ganz allgemeiner Form gepriesen. Eine Aretalogie bezeugt eine einzelne Tat (ἀρετή, δύναμις) und soll mit der Nennung von Zeugen beweisen, daß die Gottheit ein Wunder vollbracht hat, daß sie wirklich existiert und in das Leben der Menschen eingreift', and cf. ibid. 224 with n. 2 regarding the Chalkian inscription dedicated to Karpokrates: 'Man hat auch diesen Text eine Aretalogie genannt; aber damit wird der Charakter des Stückes nicht getroffen, der keine spezielle Großtat (ἀρετή) des Harpokrates beschreibt, sondern allgemein sein Wesen offenbart'; also taken up by Kockelmann 2008, 47–48, who nevertheless continues to speak of 'Isis-Aretalogien', as did Merkelbach 1962, 9 still himself.

[26] Cf. expressly Smith 1971, 195–196.

[27] Longo 1969, esp. 34: 'E il rigore è necessario anche se si rischiassero tagli troppo netti, e pertanto arbitrarî, dovendosi evitare che qualsiasi θαυμαστόν, in qualsiasi relazione posto con la divinità e comunque presentato, possa considerarsi aretalogia con l'immediata, ed ovvia, conseguenza di svuotare di ogni specifico contenuto il termine stesso di aretalogia'; accordingly, the subtitle in Longo 2007, where he presents a number of examples with introduction and translation.

choice, which is at least well-founded, and to which we owe a first systematic listing of all Greek texts of this type, both inscriptions and papyri,[28] has clearly visible weaknesses. This is especially true of the colourful mixture of text genres; the sub-categorisation into individual acts of healing causes even more confusion.[29] In addition, Longo is himself often not consistent, as can be seen in the inclusion of the so-called Delian Sarapis-Aretalogy, where one may search in vain for mention of any cure.[30]

Even more remarkable is the fact that, while both attempts at categorisation differ, the relation to Egyptian deities, in particular Isis, that is supposed to be so important, is lost to view in both. In Longo's work this can be observed directly, because among the divinities that form his only principle of order, Isis hardly appears.[31] This is true of Merkelbach, too, although in his *magnum opus* on the 'griechisch-ägyptische Religion nach den Quellen',[32] Isis is the centre of attention, albeit in a quite different way. Yet, even in the case of such a knowledgeable expert in the culture of Egypt in Greek and Roman times as Albert Henrichs, who comments on aretalogy in his brilliant study on the Dionysos ode of Horace and its antetypes in Hellenistic poetry,[33] the relationship between the genre of aretalogy and the Egyptian deities remains surprisingly sketchy. In his outline of the history and form of this

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28 Longo 1969; cf. however the detailed criticism in Rigsby 1971.

29 Thus, some of the testimonies collected by Longo, such as the large inscriptions from Epidauros, comprise some 20 of the 92 numbers alone; cf., according to the reckoning established by Herzog 1931, namely Stele A = *IG* IV^2 1, 121 = Longo 1969, 63–67, nos. 1–20 (350–300 BCE); Stele B = *IG* IV^2 1, 122 = Longo 1969, 67–70, nos. 21–39 (4th cent. BCE). On the other hand, extensive texts are often only reproduced in parts, so that the corresponding passages appear quite out of context.

30 *RICIS* 202/0101 = *I.Délos* 1299 = Longo 1969, 106–116, no. 63 (end of the 3rd/beginning of the 2nd cent. BCE). The *arete* of the divinity is shown by Sarapis interfering in a court procedure just in time to change a threatening situation for his priest for the better, this whole event being reinforced by the popular motif of the appearance of the deity in a dream—in this case, several times. On this in detail most recently, cf. Moyer 2011, 142–207, and Furley 2012.

31 Cf. Longo 1969, 46–52, where he argues in some detail that the texts related to Isis include, at best, 'una parte aretalogica, quindi narrativa', but 'il tratto essenziale di una aretalogia, ossia la documentazione del potere divino "im Wunder"', is lacking (pp. 49–50); thus, the table of contents alone ('Asclepio—Sarapide—altri dèi—Dèi senza nome, re-maghi, spettri', p. 187) reveals the subordinate role of Isis, who comes into play, if at all, as the consort of some other deity, such as Sarapis in the so-called Delian Sarapis aretalogy or Mandulis in the so-called Vision of Maximus (Bernand, *Inscr. métriques* 168 = Longo 1969, 144–158, no. 79; ca. 100 CE).

32 Thus the subtitle of Merkelbach 1995.

33 Henrichs 1978.

group of texts he does emphasise the Egyptian share much more strongly than did Nilsson, but, in the end, he is equally unable to free himself from the specifically Greek perspective.

> R. Reitzenstein, who introduced the term "aretalogy" to modern research, used it most unfortunately to designate all sorts of Hellenistic miracle tales. Today, we understand the concept in a more clear-cut way, usually applying it to two well-outlined types of Hellenistic cult literature in which witnesses report on the concrete intervention of certain divinities, for the purpose of cultic propaganda, and this is then fixed in a documentary fashion. Apart from aretalogies which contain miraculous cures or punishments ascribed to Asklepios or Sarapis, there are those in which the cultural deeds of Isis are set forth in list form. Both types are identical as far as function is concerned, but quite different with regard to provenience. The first-mentioned type appears to have been formed in the pre-Hellenistic cult of Asklepios, while the second is rooted in theologised teachings of cultural genesis of the fifth century BC in which Demeter and Dionysos occupied centre stage. In the aretalogy of Maroneia both traditions are conjoined for the first time: the praise for Isis the bringer of culture is, at the same time, thanks expressed for the cure attained.[34]

Here, in contrast to the former conceptions, Isis is no longer more or less suppressed, but the literary products referring to her, namely the so-called 'praises', are simply declared to be a separate category. Although Henrichs thus basically recognises the significance of Isis for aretalogy, this is an artificial manœuvre and therefore unsatisfactory. Equally unconvincing are, as we shall see, his suggestions regarding the origin of the genre 'aretalogy', which he deduces from the cultural theories of Prodikos and Euhemeros.[35]

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[34] Henrichs 1978, 206 (trans. D. Fear): 'R. Reitzenstein, der den Terminus "Aretalogie" in die moderne Forschung eingeführt hat, bezeichnete damit auf recht unglückliche Weise alle möglichen Arten von hellenistischen Wundererzählungen. Heute fasst man den Begriff schärfer und beschränkt ihn meist auf zwei festumrissene Typen hellenistischer Kultliteratur, in denen zu Zwecken der Kultpropaganda das tatkräftige Eingreifen bestimmter Gottheiten von Augenzeugen berichtet und damit dokumentarisch festgehalten wird. Neben Aretalogien, die Heilungs- oder Strafwunder des Asklepios oder Sarapis zum Inhalt haben, stehen solche, in denen die Kulturtaten der Isis listenartig aufgezählt werden. Beide Typen sind zwar funktionsmässig identisch aber herkunftsmässig ganz verschieden. Der erste Typ scheint im vorhellenistischen Asklepioskult ausgebildet worden zu sein, während der zweite letztlich auf theologisierte Kulturentstehungslehren des 5. Jhs. v. Chr. zurückgeht, in deren Mittelpunkt Demeter und Dionysos standen. In der Aretalogie von Maroneia sind erstmals beide Traditionen miteinander verbunden: Das Lob der Kulturbringerin Isis ist der Dank für die erfolgte Heilung'.

[35] Cf. Henrichs 1975, 110–111 with n. 65 and, in greater detail, Henrichs 1984; for a connection with Euhemeros, cf. also Baumgarten 1998, esp. 204–206.

In any case, all these discussions indicate that the testimonies to Isis can only be brought into agreement with the texts discussed above with great difficulty—reason enough to take a closer look at them again here.

The Evidence

The oldest of these testimonies is found in an inscription from Thracian Maroneia, first published in 1975 and probably dated in the last part of the second century BCE.[36] Due to the cure expressly mentioned in it, in this case in regard to an eye-disease, it is the first and most welcome example of the combination of the different 'types' of aretalogy.[37] In this inscription, Isis is thanked for listening to the previous prayers, and as she graciously deigned to be present for the supplicant then, he hopes for her coming now, as he is singing these praises.[38] In a second part following upon this, Isis is described in all her potency, with the description varying between direct address ('thou/you') and indirect ('he/she').[39] Though the text was not composed in a metric version, it does appear to be completely rhythmic.[40] According to Maria Totti, who has labelled this text 'Enkomion', because of its repeated self-designation,[41] we have here 'a fragment of a sermon or speech, such as a θεολόγος (an orator dealing with divine matters) would have held; it was apparently so pleasing that it was decided to inscribe it on stone'.[42]

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36 Grandjean 1975, reprinted as *RICIS* 114/0202 = *I.Thrac.Aeg.* 205 = *SEG* 26.821 = Totti 1985, 60–61, no. 19 (middle of the 2nd/beginning of the 1st cent. BCE).

37 Cf. Henrichs 1978, 206, 208; Versnel 1990, 41 with n. 7; 2011, 283 with n. 167.

38 Cf. esp. ll. 6–7: ὥσπερ οὖν ἐπὶ τῶν ὀμμάτων, Ἶσι, ταῖς εὐχαῖς [ἐπήκο]υσας, ἐλθὲ τοῖς ἐπαίνοις καὶ ἐπὶ δευτέραν εὐχήν, ll. 10–11: εἰ γὰρ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐμῆς καλουμένη σωτηρίας ἦλθες, πῶς ὑπὲρ τῆς ἰδίας τιμῆς οὐκ ἂν ἔλθοις;.

39 Ll. 2–20 and 29–38 (41?) are in the second person with accented σύ (ll. 31, 35) or σοί (l. 34) in primary position; ll. 22–28 und 41–43 are, in contrast, in the third person, cf. esp. repeated αὕτη at the beginning of the sentence in ll. 22, 24, 26. Cf. for more detail Henrichs 1978, 208.

40 Thus, already Grandjean 1975, 115–117 with App. I; now Papanikolaou 2009, esp. 61–63, with the definition 'dithyramb in prose' (p. 63).

41 Cf. only ll. 5, 8, 12, 14, 21.

42 Totti 1985, 60 in the introduction to no. 19: 'das Fragment einer Predigt oder Festrede, wie sie ein θεολόγος (ein Redner über göttliche Angelegenheiten) gehalten hat; sie hat offenbar so gut gefallen, daß man sie auf Stein aufgezeichnet hat'; also Baumgarten 1998, 210, and cf. Merkelbach 1995, 223–224 § 407. According to Papanikolaou 2009, 67, this is 'the only surviving sophistic encomium to a deity of the Hellenistic ages. This prose specimen is an invaluable testimony not only to the persistence of sophistic oratory throughout the Hellenistic ages, but also to the existence of prose hymns cultivated by the Hellenistic sophists'.

Praises of Isis are represented, too, by the four hymns of Isidoros that were inscribed at the beginning of the first century BCE on two pillars of the ancient sanctuary of Narmuthis, now Kūm Madīnat Māḍī, whose oldest parts can be dated to the time around 1800 BCE.[43] The hymns were discovered in 1935 by Achille Vogliano and published already the following year,[44] and the relation to the texts discussed here was noted from the outset. Much speaks for the hypothesis that the hymns, of which two are in hexameter and two in elegiac distichs, were composed only in the 80s of the first century BCE, but an older date cannot be excluded with certainty.[45] In all of them, Isis, who appears identified here with the local snake goddess Renenutet or (T)hermuthis, is addressed throughout in the second person; in the fourth hymn, by way of questioning about the mythical founder of the sanctuary, the main focus shifts to Pharaoh Amenemhet III, who was worshipped in the Fayyūm as the god Pramarres.

The great hymn of Andros, describing the blessings of Isis in something over 175 hexameters in a mixture of Aeolic and Doric literary dialects, is probably from the first century BCE, too.[46] Only the first sentence is designed as an address to the 'linen-clad queen of Egypt';[47] after that, the goddess herself speaks. Despite considerable damage and the very artificial language, it is clear that the text, known since 1842 already, is again strongly orientated towards the so-called 'praises' in its content.

There is an exact date for an inscription in iambic trimeter which was commissioned in 103 CE by Agathos Daimon who acted as *neokoros* in Kyrene in Libya.[48] As with the preceding composition, this one is in the first-person style. Here too, then, it is once more Isis who presents herself as the mistress of the world and the finder of fruits and life, again closely following the so-called 'praises'.

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43 Bernand, *Inscr. métriques* 175 I–IV = *SB* 5.8138–8141 = *SEG* 8.548–551 = Totti 1985, 76–82, nos. 21–24; on these, cf. in particular Vanderlip 1972; translations of the first hymn into English to be found also, e.g., in Fraser 1972, 671–672; Žabkar 1988, 371–372.

44 Vogliano 1936.

45 Bollók 1974 in particular pleads for an earlier date, and believes he can date the texts even more exactly as belonging to the time of Ptolemaios IV Philopator.

46 *RICIS* 202/1801 = *IG* XII 5, 739 = Totti 1985, 5–10, no. 2 (1st cent. BCE, perhaps Augustan); cf. esp. Peek 1930; also Baumgarten 1998, 208–209; Kockelmann 2008, 47 'a iambic version' is incorrect.

47 *RICIS* 202/1801, ll. 1–7, with the initial greeting Αἰγύπτου βασίλεια λινόστολε.

48 *RICIS* 701/0103 = *SEG* 9.192 = Totti 1985, 13, no. 4 = Peek 1930, 127–131, no. 2; cf. also Roussel 1929, 150–151.

A series of inscriptions from the Christian era displays the unusual characteristic of having more or less the same text, although the places where each inscription was found are quite distant from one another. The most complete example of this widespread text, which may be regarded as the very embodiment of the so-called 'praises', was found in 1925 in Kyme on the west coast of Asia Minor; further fragments, some extensive, were preserved in Thessalonike in Northern Greece, on the Cycladic island of Ios, and, as we now know, in Telmessos in Lykia.[49] In a total of 54 sentences, that again are in the first person, Isis presents to the believers all of her characteristics and services to man. By way of example, we quote only the first ten 'paragraphs' of this kind:

§ 3a I am Isis, the ruler of every land,
§ 3b and I was taught by Hermes, and
§ 3c with Hermes I devised letters, both the sacred and the demotic, that all might not be written with the same.
§ 4 I gave laws to mankind and ordained what no one can change.
§ 5 I am the eldest daughter of Kronos.
§ 6 I am the wife and sister of King Osiris.
§ 7 I am the one who discovered corn for mankind.
§ 8 I am the mother of King Horus.
§ 9 I am the one who rises in the Dog-star.
§ 10 I am the one called goddess by women.
§ 11 For me was built the city of Bubastos.
§ 12 I separated the earth from the heaven.[50]

A text of this kind must have been in front of Diodoros' eyes when, in the first book of his historical works, in which he deals with the mythical history of Egypt, he quotes an inscription allegedly set up at the grave of Isis in Arabian Nysa.[51] A second inscription, also in hieroglyphs and the first person, is

[49] Kyme: *RICIS* 302/0204 = *I.Kyme* 41 (1st cent. BCE?, § 1–57); Thessalonike: *RICIS* 113/0545 = *IG* X 2.1, 254 (1st/2nd cent. CE, § 7–30); Ios: *RICIS* 202/1101 = *IG* XII 5, 14 (2nd/3rd cent. CE, § 3–34); Telmessos: *RICIS* 306/0201 descr. (1st cent. BCE, § 2–4).

[50] *RICIS* 302/0204 = *I.Kyme* 41 = Totti 1985, 1–4, no. 1.4–15 (trans. L.V. Žabkar 1988, 140–141): § 3a Εἶσις ἐγώ εἰμι ἡ τύραννος πάσης χώρας· § 3b καὶ ἐπαιδεύθην ὑπ[ὸ] Ἑρμοῦ καὶ § 3c γράμματα εὗρον μετὰ Ἑρμοῦ, τά τε ἱερὰ καὶ τὰ δημόσια γράμματα, ἵνα μὴ ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς πάντα γράφηται. § 4 ἐγὼ νόμους ἀνθρώποις ἐθέμην, καὶ ἐνομοθέτησα ἃ οὐθεὶς δύναται μεταθεῖναι. § 5 ἐγώ εἰμι Κρόνου θυγάτηρ πρεσβυτάτηι. § 6 ἐγώ εἰμι γ[υ]νὴ καὶ ἀδελφὴ Ὀσειρίδος βασιλέως. § 7 ἐγώ εἰμι ἡ καρπὸν ἀνθρώποις εὑροῦσα. § 8 ἐγώ εἰμι μήτηρ Ὥρου βασιλέως. § 9 ἐγώ εἰμι ἡ ἐν τῷ τοῦ Κυνὸς ἄστρῳ ἐπιτέλλουσα. § 10 ἐγώ εἰμι ἡ παρὰ γυναιξὶ θεὸς καλουμένη. § 11 ἐμοὶ Βούβαστος πόλις ᾠκοδομήθη. § 12 ἐγὼ ἐχώρισα γῆν ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ, κτλ. A translation into English to be found also in Müller 1972, 117–118, and cf. Solmsen 1979, 42–43; den Boeft 2003, 15.

[51] Cf. Diod. Sic. 1.27.3–5; in 27.4 the speech attributed to Isis is, for the most part, identical with § 3 (without 3c) to 9, 11 and 57 of the so-called 'M-Group' (which will be dealt with below).

supposed to have decorated the neighbouring grave of Osiris, according to the same Diodoros.[52] In contrast to the case of the Isis text, however, no trace of this has survived in the epigraphical record.[53]

Finally, there are a few texts belonging to the same tradition, which were composed in a similar fashion to honour other, but associated divinities, and thus also display unmistakable Egyptian character. This is the case for the so-called Anubis hymn of Kios, which is usually dated to the late Hellenistic period or early Empire.[54] In well-formed hexameters, Anubis, who is addressed as 'ruler of all the heavens',[55] is praised as the son of Isis and Osiris, and to her, again, the last verses of the ten preserved are dedicated. This is the more remarkable, as Isis's sister Nephthys is otherwise generally held to be the mother of Anubis. Still, it may be attributed to the bad state of preservation of the stone when Isis is once again placed in the limelight.

What is apparently the latest testimony of this kind is an inscription from the third, or even fourth, century CE in honour of Karpokrates from Chalkis on Euboia,[56] the close connection of which to the texts discussed here was already elaborated upon by the first editor, Richard Harder, in exemplary fashion. The use of the first person, again, to which the text changes following a dedicatory introduction, underlines the rather archaic impression. In this case, however, it is not Isis, but her son by Sarapis who introduces himself; his name—originally Harpokrates—has been intentionally changed to underscore his significance for the bearing of fruit and thus of life itself.

If we look again at these testimonies to Isis and her circle, the texts seem at first sight to be quite different types, connected only by the subject of praising Isis or some other Egyptian god and by the conspicuous tone of grandeur. Besides the *koiné*, which is naturally dominant, archaicising dialects are used, metrical versions stand together with prose, and the form of address is not uniform by any means. Yet the fact that these texts set

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52 Diod. Sic. 1.27.5, also printed in Totti 1985, 4, no. 1 B.

53 As Bergman 1968, 27–43 could demonstrate in a thorough comparison of both inscriptions, the text of Isis reveals an already fixed aretalogical tradition, while such a tradition for Osiris apparently does not exist; thus, it should not come as a surprise that there have been found no pertinent inscriptions at all. Yet, such texts did circulate, as may be seen in Tibullus' birthday elegy in honour of Messalla, Tib. *carm.* 1.7.29–48; on this, esp. Koenen 1976, 142–153 'The Aretalogy'.

54 *RICIS* 308/0302 = *I.Kios* 21 = Totti 1985, 14, no. 5 = Peek 1930, 137–142, no. 4 (early Augustan?).

55 Thus esp. l. 2 οὐρανίων πάντων βασιλεῦ, χαῖρε, ἄφθιτ' Ἄνουβι.

56 *RICIS* 104/0206 = Totti 1985, 15–16, no. 6 (end of the 3rd/beginning of the 4th cent. CE); on this, see esp. the ed. pr. by Harder 1944; for a translation, also Nock 1949, 29.

themselves apart in a significant way from other literary compositions and must be seen as a separate genre is shown, first and foremost, by comparing them with similar religious poems, to which they are, after all, so closely related that they are occasionally named together with these in one breath.

As a more recent example of this, I mention the valuable *Comparative and Annotated Re-Edition of Six Demotic Hymns and Praises Addressed to Isis*[57] by Holger Kockelmann, in which Greek parallels are given by way of a complement. While Kockelmann categorises the inscription of Maroneia as a special case among the non-Egyptian evidence,[58] he names among the evidence found in Egypt itself, apart from the hymns of Isidoros, two texts on papyrus. Although we clearly have to do here again with religious poetry in honour of Isis, these texts show by close reading a much different layout.

The first of these texts is the famous invocation of Isis from Oxyrhynchos,[59] on the reverse of which is the hardly less famous tale of Imhotep, equated with Asklepios, and his miracle cures of the neglectful translator.[60] The text, spread over at least twelve columns, begins with a detailed listing, indeed a veritable *cornucopia* of names, under which Isis, always praised as 'she with many names', was worshipped at the most varied places of the then-known world; the text then goes on to general praise of the deeds and virtues of the goddess. As the beginning and the end of the papyrus roll, still a good meter in length, are lost, the character of this composition, singular in the Greek world at least, remains unclear, as does the question of whether the existing parts were embedded in some narrative framework.

The second text is a fragment of a hymn in epic hexameter from the third century CE that has been assigned convincingly to Isis, but only on the basis of details of its content.[61] How much this text owes to the traditional

57 Thus the subtitle of Kockelmann 2008.

58 Cf. Kockelmann 2008, 47–49, esp. 48 under A.3: 'a strongly Hellenised text quite dissimilar to the M-Group, but still interspersed with some Egyptian features'; the texts listed under A.2—a passage from the Kore Kosmou (= Totti 1985, 11–12, no. 3) and the inscription of Kyrene—are described, in contrast, expressly as 'related to the M-Group [here more exactly the inscriptions of Kyme, Thessaloniki, and Ios, subsumed under A.1, as well as the Hymn of Andros], but left aside here', probably only because they offer little with regard to the epitheta of the goddess, which are the main interest for Kockelmann.

59 *P.Oxy.* 11.1380 = Totti 1985, 62–75, no. 20 (2nd cent. CE). The text can not be understood as a 'long self-predication' as Alvar 2008 with n. 121 maintains.

60 *P.Oxy.* 11.1381 = Totti 1985, 36–45, no. 15 (2nd cent. CE); a newer translation in Jördens 2010, 318–321, no. 1; cf. also Quack 2003, 330–331. Only the miracle cure ll. 64–145 in Longo 1969, 90–95, no. 58 and in Totti-Gemünd 1998, 169–193.

61 *PSI* 7.844 (3rd cent. CE); the assignment of the hymn to Isis has been proposed originally

principles of Greek hymnic poetry may also be seen in the fact that the first editor thought that the recipient of the honour was a natural philosopher, and even after the identification of the text as a hymn to Isis it was suggested that it was rather an encomion on Homer of Imperial times.[62]

If one compares these two texts with the testimonies dealt with above, it immediately becomes clear that we have a much different type of composition in these latter. For there is no more than a mere thematic relation here, while the first group, despite all differences in detail, is also connected by a series of structural similarities. In particular, the text from Kyme, now known in four examples, and the version transmitted by Diodoros actually display, to some extent, literal correspondences, something that cannot be ascribed to mere chance. This is true in the end of the hymn of Andros as well, even if there is no disagreeing with Werner Peek's dictum that 'the hymn does not take more than its subject matter from the prose'.[63] But the parallels in the lines of thought, as well as the remarkable and unexpected change-over to the first person, represent an indubitable indication that, as Richard Harder was already able to convincingly remark,[64] we must assume here a common model. Further evidence for this hypothesis can be seen now in the second part of the inscription of Maroneia,[65] which, however, was of course as yet unknown to Harder.

Harder we have not only to thank for a stemma, based on careful reconstruction of the various dependencies, but to him we also owe the designation of these various recensions as the 'M-Group'. Indeed, he located the presumed original even more exactly in Memphis, regarding it as part of a 'Memphitic Isis propaganda'.[66] For the stele with the inscription, according

by Heitsch 1960 (as well as 1963, 165, no. XLVIII) and has brilliantly been confirmed by the new edition by Barigazzi 1975, which is now the standard text.

62 Thus the title of Wolbergs 1975: 'Ein kaiserzeitliches Homerenkomion', and cf. esp. the 'Korrekturnachtrag' p. 199 where he points out that after Barigazzi 1975 came to his attention he had to admit being wrong with some of his supplements but was reluctant to dismiss his interpretation as a whole.

63 Peek 1930, 87: 'Der Hymnus übernimmt von der Prosa nicht mehr als das Thema'.

64 Harder 1944, esp. 18–39; for first considerations in this direction, cf. already Peek 1930, 119–126, no. 1.

65 Thus esp. ll. 15–35, cf. the 'passages correspondants' in Grandjean 1975, 121–124, alongside of *RICIS* 302/0204 = *I.Kyme* 41; thus, explicitly also Žabkar 1988, 143 ('the basic M-text, which he [*sc.* its author] must have had in front of him').

66 Cf. (apart from the subtitle) esp. Harder 1944, 39–52. The concept of propaganda appears now certainly outdated, cf. esp. Dietrich 1966 and below n. 113. All the same, the methodological approach of Harder is not to be contested, as did, for instance, Dietrich 1966, 204; Solmsen 1979, 43–46, who accredited, after all, Egyptian portions; esp. Baumgarten

to the preamble of the Kymean inscription, is supposed to have stood in the Hephaistieion, that is to say in the great temple of Ptah in Memphis.[67] This statement gains additional plausibility through what is said by Diodoros, namely that the Memphitic Hephaistieion was also regarded as the tomb of Isis.[68] Thus, even if the epigraphic evidence must be dated relatively late, it still seems hardly doubtful that the 'M-Group' comes close to the master copy of all these compositions.

The Context

Although the originality of this group of texts was never in question, its cultural classification—i.e. whether the texts are to be assigned to the Greek or the Egyptian cultural complex—was hotly debated for decades.[69] At first sight, in matters of style,[70] and not least because of the rather unsystematic

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1998, 200 with n. 113, cf. also p. 215. In contrast, Müller 1961, who objects to Harder's basic assumption of Egyptian origin, but regards his reconstruction of the dependencies of the various Greek versions as 'das bleibende Verdienst' (p. 9) and shares his view that the (Greek) master copy stems 'höchstwahrscheinlich aus Ägypten und mit einiger Sicherheit aus Memphis' (p. 14).

[67] Thus after *RICIS* 302/0204 = *I.Kyme* 41, ll. 3–4: § 2: τάδε ἐγράφηι ἐκ τῆς στήλης τῆς ἐν Μέμφει, ἥτις ἕστηκεν πρὸς τῷ Ἡφαιστιήωι, as the Egyptian Ptah was equated with Hephaistos; cf. Roussel 1929, 140, who refers also to the Hymn of Andros *RICIS* 202/1801 = *IG* XII 5, 739, ll. 3–7: ἀμαλλοτόκοισί τε Μέμφις γαθομένα πεδίοισιν, ὅπαι στάλαν ἀσάλευτον εἷσε φιλοθρέσκων ἱερὸς νόμος ἐκ βασιλήων, σᾶμα τεᾶς, δέσποινα, μοναρχείας, ἱκέταισιν λαοῖς ἀπύοισαν; Dunand 1973, vol. 1, 123 with n. 2; Dousa 2002, 150 with n. 5; Quack 2003, 319–320.

[68] Diod. Sic. 1.22.2 ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ταύτην [...] ταφῆναι κατὰ τὴν Μέμφιν, ὅπου δείκνυται μέχρι τοῦ νῦν ὁ σηκός, ὑπάρχων ἐν τῷ τεμένει τοῦ Ἡφαίστου; cf. also *P.Oxy*. 11.1380, 249 σὺ ἐν Μέμ[φ]ι[δι ἔχ]ε̣[ι]ς̣ [ἄ]δ̣υ̣τ̣ο̣ν (2nd cent. CE; with Schmidt 1918, 117).

[69] Cf. the discussion in Assmann 1975, 431 with n. 14 and esp. the detailed research reports in Grandjean 1975, 12–15 and most recently Quack 2003, 320–324; for a 'severely condensed survey', also Versnel 1990, 41–42 (the quotation p. 41); Baumgarten 1998, 200–201, who is, however, here as in the disquisition of the texts (pp. 200–218) not always up to date; Stadler 2005, esp. 7; far too cursorily, Alvar 2008, 187–188.

[70] Indeed, Norden 1912, 214–220, was convinced that 'sowohl die "Ich"-Prädikation als auch die Prädikation in Partizipial- und Relativsätzen, die untereinander beliebig wechseln können, im Ägyptischen seit ältester Zeit die typische Urform jedes höheren Stils gewesen [ist]' (p. 216), and thus expressly in favour of Egyptian provenience, cf. esp. pp. 219–220 on the Isis texts; similarly Deißmann 1923, 108–112, who elaborates on the 'alten und weitverbreiteten nichtchristlichen und vorchristlichen sakralen ICH-Stil' (p. 108); Lexa 1930, 151–152, who refers to parallels in Egyptian magical texts and argues that by this means the Greek composition should obtain authenticity; esp. Schweizer 1939, who, after a thorough revision of the evidence, concludes that 'Im Grunde genommen fehlt das ἐγώ εἰμι nur in Griechenland' (21); cf. also Harder 1944, esp. p. 32; Bergman 1968, 219–224; Thyen 1994, according to whom the electronic tools now confirm 'eindrucksvoll Nordens Urteil über den "unhellenischen Charakter"

composition, these texts appear 'quite un-Hellenic'.[71] Considerations of content, however, seemed for a long time to point in a different direction: even established Egyptologists such as Dieter Müller did not hesitate to ascribe a Greek origin to many phrases,[72] until Albert Henrichs finally characterised the Isis figure as 'thoroughly Prodicean'.[73]

The main problem with all these suggestions, however, is that they generally lack in sufficient knowledge of the religious developments in Hellenistic Egypt itself. In a decisive lexicon article of 1975, Jan Assmann first succeeded in substantiating comparable material in Egyptian literature, although the relevant evidence is rare and not extremely old.[74] This is true to a far greater degree for the image of Isis, many features of which appeared only explicable by way of Greek influence. Not least the great progress made by demotic studies over the last few decades has now led to a fundamental reappraisal,[75] and has allowed the Memphitic background surmised already by Richard

der I(ch-Bin-Worte)' (pp. 148–149); lastly, den Boeft 2003, 15: 'not Hellenic, neither in content nor in form'. Decidedly against this position esp. Festugière 1949, who did acknowledge the first-person-style as 'sans doute orientale', but only within clear limits: 'ce qui doit être oriental ici, c' est la monotonie dans la répétition plus que l' affirmation elle-même' (p. 232); cf. also Nock 1949, who regards this the 'most striking feature of Praises' (p. 224), and goes as far as to claim that 'the Ichstil tells in favor of composition in Greek rather than of translation' (p. 225).

71 Thus, Harder 1944, esp. 32–33, quotation p. 33 ('ganz unhellenisch'), and cf. also Peek 1930, 158–159. Contrary, once more Festugière 1949, esp. 220–228 where he strives to demonstrate that the structure follows the schema of nothing but Greek hymns; on this, cf. now Versnel 1990, 43–44; 2011, 284.

72 Müller 1961, who maintains that the Greek background that had been reconstructed from classical philologists appears as far as possible confirmed by the Egyptian evidence, and who is convinced—as we will see, unfoundedly—that this will hold good also in the future ('auch die weitere Forschung dürfte an dem gewonnenen Ergebnis im Prinzip nichts Wesentliches mehr ändern', p. 8).

73 Henrichs 1984, 156: 'The Isis of "Praises" is thoroughly Prodicean in that her status as a deity is predicated upon her role as cultural heroine and former queen of Egypt', cf. also Henrichs 1975, 111 with n. 65: 'The Ptolemaic theologians who composed the so-called Praises of Isis filled Prodicus' atheistic mold with new religious substance when they fashioned a fully historicized and Hellenized *dea inventrix*, to be worshipped in cult'.

74 Assmann 1975, esp. 426–428, who notes, however, that there are only very few cases of such first-person hymns and that their form seemingly was not part of any traditional genre: '[…] dürfte sich an dem Gesamteindruck kaum etwas ändern, daß solche "Ich-Hymnen" in der Masse der Überlieferung nur höchst vereinzelt belegt sind […] Die Form scheint in keiner dieser (sc. der traditionellen) Gattungen ursprünglich beheimatet, sondern vielmehr von einer weiteren Gattung übernommen zu sein, die uns nur noch in diesen Reflexen greifbar ist' (p. 428). Cf. now also Quack 2003, 332–333.

75 Cf. esp. Dousa 2002, with careful tracing of the lines of tradition to the aspects of the goddess as Isis Regina, Isis Unica, and Isis Tyche, so central to the Hellenistic conception of Isis; for the Greek side, most recently Versnel 2011, 283–289.

Harder to be grasped much better. The suspicion that we have to do here with products of the Late Egyptian world of thought has recently been confirmed by Joachim Friedrich Quack who was able to reconstruct an assumed demotic original on the basis of the Greek texts.[76] This convincing textual restitution, founded on numerous text parallels, ought to remove any remaining doubts that Egyptian ideas were transferred, more or less successfully, into the Greek milieu.

At the same time, Quack also examined a further question, namely in what context these testimonies are to be placed; he advocated a recitation, or even acted out, e.g. in the course of Isis festivals.[77] Representations of this kind of a living Isis had already been suggested by Reinhold Merkelbach, according to whom priestesses, on certain occasions, would appear before the congregation in the garb of the goddess in solemn ceremony, which culminated in the very recitation of the text.[78] By way of comparison, Quack pointed out the laments of Isis and Nephthys according to the Papyrus Bremner-Rhind.[79] The case of the well-known twins Thaues and Taous from the Sarapieion of Memphis, who had the task of embodying the divine sisters during the seventy-day mourning for the Apis bull, should be considered as well.[80] In view of the close relationship borne by these twins to the *enkatochos* Ptolemaios, son of Glaukias,[81] one may confidently assume that Greeks, too, were familiar with such performances, perhaps sooner or later taking even active part in them.[82]

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76 Quack 2003; cf. also Kockelmann 2008, 46–47. Bommas 2006, 234–235 with n. 80 takes a sceptical view, but his apodictic judgement is of little assistance.

77 Quack 2003, 364–365.

78 Merkelbach 1995, 114–115 § 211, who refers at the same time to parallels in formal processions; cf. also p. 340, according to which during the initiation into the mysteries of Isis scenes of the Isis myth were acted out. Considerations in this direction may also be found in Bergman 1968, 222–224, who strives to connect the appearances of Isis with the coronation rites (pp. 224–232). Though consenting in principle, with reasonable doubt about this connection already Müller 1972, 120–121; similarly Quack 2003, cf. also the following note; in general, also den Boeft 2003, 16.

79 Quack 2003, 364.

80 Most recently on this Thompson 2012, 216–228, esp. 218; on the ritual as such, already pp. 184–188, esp. 187.

81 On this Greek ex-soldier who lived for years in the Sarapieion and left a plethora of documents, cf. www.trismegistos.org/archive/119, and most recently Thompson 2012, 197–246, ch. 7.

82 This is by no means a matter of course, as according to Egyptian tradition, the daily rites were carried out inside the temple, i.e. without any public attendance. Thus, contrary to Baumgarten 1998, 217 we cannot deduce from *RICIS* 202/0101 = *I.Délos* 1299, esp. ll. 48–49 πᾶν δὲ κατ' ἦμαρ σὰς ἀρετὰς ἤειδεν that they were performed in public, nor should we take the

This, of course, will not always have been the case. If we are not mistaken, this text, insofar as we can discern its basic structure in the 'M-Group', must have been foreign, as well as disturbing, to Greek audiences. For here a deity herself describes each of her characteristics and services to mankind to the believers, in a long list. Using a memorable anaphor, she introduces every single one of over fifty deeds and virtues with a formulaic 'I am the one who …', which gives the text a particular solemnity by itself, without underlining this with a metre. However much this may have fascinated, it was completely different, in form as well as in content, to all that was customary. Clearly, it was not possible to suppress the feeling that this was not the right way to communicate with the deity. This, at any rate, would explain most easily why precisely the earliest transpositions into Greek, as far as we know them in writing, show the greatest distance from the master copy.[83]

The metre and the form of speech, in particular, reveal the effort to adapt this to traditional forms of religious poetry. Thus, by preference hexameter or distichs are chosen to clothe Egyptian ideas in good Greek;[84] indeed, the poet of the Hymns of Narmuthis proudly set his name underneath his work: Ἰσίδωρος ἔγραψε.[85] The Hymn of Andros owes even more stylistically to the

divine *aretai* in a narrow sense and interpret them as miracles, as did Nock 1933, 51, and Baslez 1977, 235; cf. already Grandjean 1975, 3. Rather, the sentence serves primarily to emphasise the protagonist's piety, and we can see nothing but a poetic paraphrase of his priestly duties in this; cf. also Dunand 1973, vol. 3, 155, 185, 215. Nor be it, contrary to a widely held view—cf., e.g., Engelmann 1975, 37, who considers actually 'paeans of praise about his god's miracles', and Baslez 1977, 235–236—connected with the *aretalogoi*; cf. the careful wording alone by Dunand, pp. 154–155, 215. On the fundamental difference between the actual priests, as the protagonist supposedly was, and the 'personnel auxiliaire "laïque"', whom *aretalogoi* and *oneirokritai* belonged to, Dunand 2000, 34–35, who in the following pages, esp. p. 38, reminds us once again of the no less fundamental difference between daily cult practice and the complex rites of the feasts, which alone were carried out in public.

[83] On this fundamental 'difficulty', see also Moyer 2011, 181. Baumgarten 1998, 210–211, emphasises the substitution of Egyptian divine names by Greek ones in the early inscription of Maroneia, where Isis is described as the daughter of Ge instead of Geb or rather Kronos and as the wife of Sarapis, which could be subsumed here, without needing to search for an explanation of the supposedly 'renewed attribution to Osiris' (p. 211 with n. 158); and cf. the prose version with the introductory healing story and the remarkable shift to the Eleusinian context at the end. Cf. also Fowden 1986, 47–48, who notes 'the tone … is resolutely Greek' (p. 48), and most recently Papanikolaou 2009, see above n. 42.

[84] Cf. Rutherford 2010, 13: 'The reason Isidorus and other Greco-Egyptian poets like him chose to use hexameters may have been that, from their vantage point, it seemed to be the form that conveyed a sense of Greek cultural identity'.

[85] Bernand, *Inscr. métriques* 175 I, ll. 37–38; II, ll. 31–32; III, ll. 37–38; IV, ll. 41–42. In all cases the writing is set especially in the middle, as well as being somewhat larger than the main text, which emphasises the pretension all the more. Cf. also Fowden 1986, 49–50.

epic pattern. The structure and form of speech, namely the rapid change to the first person, bring this, however, so close to the original text again, that the hymn appears hybrid.[86] This is also true, although less noticeable, in the iambic inscription of Kyrene.[87] Later, the verse measure could be left out, although metres, or at least a prose rhythm, continued to enjoy some popularity.

With regard to the form of speech, the early texts usually address the deeds and virtues of the goddess in the second person; the occasional fluctuations, that may even occur within one and the same text, give us some idea of the unease felt with the inherent construction in the first person.[88] In the course of time, possible qualms about letting the deity speak in the first person appear to have faded away, until this style finally achieves ascendancy in the Christian era.

If we have hitherto found the supposedly original text, as accessible in the 'M-Group', only in relatively late texts (which again confirms the principle of *recentiores non deteriores*), then this is probably not to be evaluated merely as pure accident.[89] On the one hand, doubts seem to have vanished, which had previously been so strong, about accepting this basically foreign text as a part of one's own, now totally-changed world, admitting it and even showing this in the form of a representative inscription. On the other hand, we probably have to do here with a primarily performative text, the characteristic and traditional form of which was as an oral declamation during a ceremony or a ritual play, something which, by the way, might explain the vain search for the missing Egyptian-language model.

For this reason, the assumed placement in all sanctuaries of Isis, an idea based on the wide distribution of texts, even outside Egypt, should be met

86 Cf. also Fowden 1986, 47; Baumgarten 1998, 208–209.

87 All the more surprising that this composition is frequently being treated as a special case, without the reasons for this always being perceptible; cf., e.g., Dunand 1973, vol. 3, Carte 2 'Diffusion des arétalogies isiaques', where the versions of Andros and Kyrene are both labelled 'texte versifié', but from the line-drawing it is differentiated between 'reposant sur une version en prose' (for Andros) and 'tradition différente' (for Kyrene). Cf. also Baumgarten 1998, 215; Kockelmann 2008, 48 (with n. 58 above); Bommas 2005, 53, who fails to mention the Kyrenean inscription in his list of parallels.

88 Thus particularly in the inscription of Maroneia, but the Hymn of Andros, too, with its rapid change to the first person, deserves attention. It should be mentioned here that, after the groundbreaking chapter 'Formen der Anaklese und Prädikation: σὺ εἶ, ἐγώ εἰμι, οὗτός ἐστιν—ein soteriologischer Redetypus' in Norden 1912, 177–201, it has been generally agreed that these most remarkable anaphoras are of oriental origin.

89 Against Henrichs 1984, 157.

with great scepticism.[90] The question of what authority one should imagine as being responsible for this ought to warn us already.[91] Moreover, in the inscriptions themselves we encounter only individuals who were responsible for setting up the stelai on their own initiative.[92] Thus, we know of Demetrios from Magnesia on the Maeander, that he dedicated the inscription of Kyme to Isis in fulfilment of a vow.[93] In Kyrene the *neokoros* Agathos Daimon commissioned it,[94] in Chalkis perhaps the mysterious Ligyri(o)s.[95] The role played by the man whose eye illness was cured in Maroneia is unclear; it has been supposed that the speech had been composed on the occasion of a festival,[96] just as the inaugural festivities for the newly constructed so-called *proastion* in Narmuthis may have induced Isidoros to write his poems.[97]

90 Cf. Totti 1985, 1 in the introduction to no. 1 (A); likewise, Merkelbach 1995, 113, sceptical, on the other hand, already Baumgarten 1998, 217. According to Dunand 2000, 78, the texts might be kept 'dans les archives des temples d'Isis, comme les récits de miracles, […] destinés à l'enseignement et à l'édification des fidèles'; but cf. Fraser 1972, 670, who notes that they 'may be regarded as hymns of a particular kind—not for celebration at this or that festival of a deity, but as a permanent adornment of his shrine'.

91 Otherwise, Rossignoli 1997, 82, whose imagination evidently sticks too much to the catholic church and her orders; in contrast, Solmsen 1979, 43–44, and esp. 45 'Also, while I do not question the wish of the priests in Memphis or elsewhere to see the Isis cult spread far and wide, I hesitate to visualize them as missionaries in a Christian sense of the word, and am unwilling to turn a group of priests into an organization of propaganda', whose admittedly subjective statement appears much more appropriate, although he goes surely too far in his criticism of Harder's reconstruction.

92 Cf. also Grandjean 1975, 6, who finds 'évidemment des actions de grâces destinées à remercier la divinité pour un bienfait rendu'.

93 *I.Kyme* 41, ll. 1–2: Δημήτριος Ἀρτεμιδώρου ὁ καὶ Θρασέας Μάγνη[ς] ἀπὸ Μαιάνδρου Ἴσιδι εὐχήν.

94 *SEG* 9.192, ll. 2–3. Ἴσιδι καὶ Σεράπιδι Ἀγαθὸς Δαίμων νεωκόρος ἀνέθη(κε).

95 *RICIS* 104/0206, l. 13 Λιγυρις; cf. also Harder 1944, 17 in comm.: 'Es handelt sich um eine Subskription, die durch den grossen Schriftgrad hervorgehoben ist. Also entweder Nennung des Autors oder des Weihenden, ersteres wenig wahrscheinlich bei einem Prosastück, zumal wo es eine Frau ist'; these latter doubts have, however, been laid to rest by J. and L. Robert, *BE* 1946, no. 171, according to whom it could equally well be a short form of the masculine *Ligyrios*. In favour of the identity of both, Nock 1949, 221; Bricault 2005, 56 ('L. 1 dédicace aux dieux qui doit être l'œuvre de l'auteur de l'hymne qui suit').

96 Cf. *supra* text and n. 42.

97 There is a certain difficulty in this, as the references to previous conflicts and the present peace in Bernand, *Inscr. Métriques* 175 III, ll. 16–18, do not really match with the dating of the identical building inscriptions chiselled into the two pillars between the dromos and the actual temple complex (*I.Fayoum* 3.158 = *SB* 5.8127 and *I.Fayoum* 3.159 = *SB* 5.8128), according to which Herakleodoros and his wife Isidora donated the so-called *proastion*, the temple forecourt, and the lions, in honour of Ptolemaios IX Soter II, on the 2nd Pachon of the 22nd year, thus on 13 May 95 BCE. The placement of the first hymn directly beneath the former

Attempts at Categorisation

The closer we examine the evidence, then, the more we see that the Isis texts constitute a relatively uniform group, characterised by the specific peculiarities of form and content mentioned and usually, although not exclusively, describing the deeds, characteristics, and virtues of a deity in the first person. As far as the designation of these texts is concerned, none of the terms suggested until now has found favour: neither 'self-predication'[98] nor 'self-revelation'[99] or 'representation of gods'[100] has been accepted; 'praises', on the other hand, was not compelling enough to compete here. Among the genre designations that have long been established, 'hymn' would appear to be the next most suitable one, because of its religious connotations.[101] However, apart from the fact that a hymn as generally understood has to fulfil certain formal requirements in structure and metre, in the Greek world it was always conceived of as a song for a deity, directed toward the deity and composed in honour of the deity, and finally to be performed in public with instrumental accompaniment.

Basically, it is hard to imagine anyone denying that the texts discussed here had quite similar functions to hymns, and for this reason replaced the latter. Nevertheless, the prose and the peculiar, but apparently typical, form of the first-person narrative in the original text do represent such a deviation from the (former) norm that the term 'hymn' can only be used for these texts in a considerably limited way. If we do look for a suitable name for this special art form, which originated in Egyptian cult practice, and which most

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offered, according to Vogliano 1936, 28, nothing but a *terminus post quem*; since Ptolemaios IX Soter II, as is known, only returned to Egypt in his 30th year, thus in 88 BCE, from his nearly 20-year exile, all these inscriptions must indeed, as Vanderlip 1972, 12–13 rightly remarked, have been written afterward. The representation need not, though, react to actual events, but could equally reflect a timeless ideal world, in which Isis' intervention enables the few to be victorious over the many, and finally all earlier conflicts have been overcome. On the combination of building inscription and cult song, cf. also the Egyptian testimony for the so-called Erythraean Paian (Bernand, *Inscr. Métriques* 176, 98–100 CE), with which the completion of the renovation work on the Asklepieion of Ptolemais Hermiu was celebrated; see on this, most recently, Jördens 2013, 285–287.

98 Thus e.g. Harder 1944, 18.

99 Thus e.g. Totti 1985, 1.

100 Thus e.g. Haase 2002, 902.

101 Thus e.g. Roussel 1929; Lexa 1930; *pro*, albeit with reservations, Peek 1930, 25 with n. 1, but *contra* 159 with n. 1; cf. also Furley 1998, esp. 791, section 'C. Isis-Aretalogien' (collecting, however, late religious texts of varying kinds, without any more detailed explanation of their mutual relations and, particularly, their relationship to the classical hymns); most recently, Versnel 2011, 283: 'extensive hymns, called "aretalogies" or "praises"'.

certainly deserves to be seen as a separate literary genre for reasons of structural peculiarity, then we will most probably wish to return to 'aretalogies', the more so as this corresponds to the Egyptological terminology which has become usual since Assmann. Elements of the miraculous or even of a cure may admittedly be lacking, whereas these belong to *arete* in the narrower sense. Yet, there can be no question that here we are talking of the *aretai* of a deity, but in the original broad sense, which again makes the designation as aretalogy seem justified.[102] It should be remembered, too, that the *aretalogoi*, as we saw at the beginning, can be proven first in the environment of Egyptian sanctuaries.

But with this, the well-known dilemma would in any case persist, namely that two completely different concepts of aretalogy exist in the research literature, which, surprisingly, more often than not have no point of contact whatsoever. It is the more remarkable, then, that, in the majority of works, the concept is used quite uncritically and with no reflection. At best, the discipline alone can serve as an occasional compass to decide which concept is involved in each case—whether we have to do with 'the non-narrative representation of a deity in the form of a catalogue-like listing of its typical characteristics and deeds' (thus the Egyptologists) or rather with 'the narrative report on a concrete miracle performed by a deity and often confirmed by eyewitnesses', more precisely 'frequently a cure' (as classicists would tend to put it).[103]

Two genres of text can hardly be more antithetic than they appear in this felicitous definition by Mareile Haase, which makes the common designation appear extremely jarring. This is confirmed by the difficulties of delimitation from other literary genres, difficulties which are tellingly different for each of the two types of text. Thus, in the first case, the borders

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102 Thus also Grandjean 1975, 1–8, arguing, above all, for the broader sense of divine *arete*; likewise, Müller 1961, who, after a terminological discussion, arrives at the conclusion that this is 'von allen vorgeschlagenen Bezeichnungen noch die glücklichste' (15 with n. 1); cf. also Baumgarten 1998, 197 with n. 105; equally, despite certain doubts, Alvar 2008, 186, whose review of the state of research in nn. 122–123 is, however, not convincing; and cf. Henrichs 1984, 153–154 with n. 63, who, probably for the sake of accuracy, goes on using the term 'Praises of Isis'.

103 Thus Haase 2002, 902, of course without differentiating between the respective traditions of the disciplines as set forth here (and in reverse order): 'Einer enger umrissenen Definition zufolge ist der narrative Bericht über eine konkrete, oft durch Zeugen bestätigte Wundertat einer Gottheit gemeint [...] Das Wunder ist dann häufig eine Heilung', bzw. 'Einer weiter gefaßten Definition zufolge umfaßt A. auch die Götterrepräsentation, die nicht-narrative Darstellung einer Gottheit in Form einer katalogartigen Aufzählung ihrer charakteristischen Eigenschaften und Taten'.

to the hymn are fluid,[104] while in the second the increasing embellishment tends to dissolve the frontiers to fables, novellas, and novels.[105] All of this should strongly recommend reserving the term for only one of these types of text, in order henceforth to prevent possible misapprehension. All attempts at this hitherto, however, have remained wholly without effect, as can be seen, once again, in Merkelbach's committed and vain struggle against the inclusion of the Isis texts.

Probably as a result of this insight, other scholars attempted to connect the two groups, more or less artificially, and despite conscious recognition of the existing differences between them. Thus, Haase tries distinguishing between aretalogies in a broader and in a narrower sense, counting miracle stories as the latter, while the former also comprises the catalogue-like listings.[106] Henrichs, for his part, recognised two types of aretalogy, which he declared, as we have seen, to be different with regard to provenience, but identical in function. Rather, he saw the connections as even closer, in that he assumed a Greek origin for the Isis texts as well. But by now we know that these texts do not go back in any way to Greek teachings of the fifth century BCE about the rise of civilisation. Whoever the author of the original text may have been, his (or her) roots, and those of the master copy itself, must be searched for in the Egyptian ambit.

Mediation between Egypt and Greece or *the Question of Agency*

Nonetheless, Henrichs deserves our gratitude for having directed our attention in this context to the highly interesting, but rarely discussed, problem of mediation. It is true that Henrichs only gets round to this in a footnote, or more exactly, in the discussion of the contrary interpretation by Harder. Even if his judgement in this case has not proven tenable, the second part of his verdict, viz. 'Harder's source is an artificial construct (ultimately going back to Herodotos) and begs the question of how Harder's theoretically minded Egyptian priests acquired their Hellenic thought patterns',[107] does touch upon a basic problem. In fact, his questioning the concrete circumstances and conditions under which an understanding was achieved

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104 Owing, of course, to the functional closeness of the two; cf. also Haase 2002, 903.

105 Thus, in recent times esp. Merkelbach, cf. lastly 1995, 307 § 534 and 333–484 ('Zweiter Teil: Die Isisromane').

106 Haase 2002, 902, as cited above, n. 103.

107 Henrichs 1984, 156 with n. 79.

between two so different cultures[108] must bring us to reflect again on what exactly is to be understood by the mysterious *aretalogoi.*

There had naturally long been contact between Egyptians and Greeks, and so an exchange of thought on the content of certain concepts is certainly to be assumed for pre-Hellenistic times, especially considering that the rise of the Greek intellectual world can hardly be imagined as taking place in a closed area, cut off from all outside contact, and, as it were, hermetically sealed. But this does not change anything about the foreignness in form and language of these Isis texts. Compared to the representations of divine *arete* previously discussed, the completely individual structure of these compositions immediately catches the eye. We may, with a high degree of probability, assume that this was the case for the Greeks of antiquity, too. They will have been bewildered by these texts the first time they were confronted with them, obviously in an oral performance.

This must have been particularly challenging, then, and the Greeks tried hard to cope with it. On the one hand, they attempted to adapt these texts to their own ideas of religious communication, as has been shown, by giving them a metre and by altering the language, for instance including epic formulas and, especially, no longer letting the deity speak directly. On the other hand, it is perfectly feasible that it was just the foreignness that guaranteed authenticity, and, as Eftychia Stavrianopoulou remarked in a different but comparable case, this 'feeling of authenticity surely contributed to the intensity of the religious experience'.[109] However that may be, there can be no reasonable doubt that appearances of the living Isis took place along with all this, as this was a genuine part of cultic practice in the regular occurence of worship. Of course, we do not know how often and exactly in what way this happened. But there will always have been someone with the need to take part, without being participant him- or herself. Thus, the provocative

[108] Remarkably, the question of agency or, better, of the 'Wege und Träger' in the dispersion of the cult of Isis has been asked but sporadically; cf., after all, Dietrich 1966, 234–235 and 273–278, who leaves it, however, at general reflections on merchants, soldiers and the like we normally will reckon with; similarly, at least for the dispersion into the west, Nock 1933, 66–67; Vidman 1970, 99–100. Žabkar 1988, 157–160 alone offers a detailed discussion, focussing particularly on the genesis of the 'M-Group' which he sees as an artefact of Greek origin, interspersed with some Egyptian elements that have been borrowed from temple inscriptions, and on chronological grounds to be connected with nothing else but Philai.

[109] Stavrianopoulou 2009, 218, who discusses, *inter alia*, inscriptions from Priene which contain regulations concerning the cult of Egyptian deities, where the obligatory presence of an Egyptian priest for the performance of the yearly sacrifice is of vital importance (pp. 216–220).

question posed by Henrichs as to how Egyptian priests might have become aware of Greek patterns of thought must, then, be reversed—namely to ask how Greeks could obtain knowledge of the characteristics and virtues of an Egyptian deity.

All the signs are that precisely this was the actual task of the *aretalogoi*, as a rather recent lexicon article rightly notes under this keyword 'functionaries at sanctuaries who tell the pilgrims about the grand deeds of the local deity, especially in cults of Isis and those of healing'.[110] Contrary to the widely held view, this need not be mere storytelling,[111] which, in the course of time, offered the Romans such a source of ridicule and mockery. Rather, according to what has been said above, the *aretalogoi* appear to have been people who mediated between the different cultures, in that they were able to 'translate' the foreign world of ideas into their own. Whether these people were actually functionaries or even priests, remains to be seen; ultimately, one can gather from the Delian inscriptions only that there were people who had a particular talent for this sort of thing, and therefore could be certain of public recognition of this important and honourable function. The small quantity of evidence may actually speak against the idea of a professional title,[112] just as the idea of downright propaganda has to be given up, *pace* Harder, Nilsson and even Henrichs.[113]

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110 Thus, Auffarth 1996: 'Funktionäre an Heiligtümern, die die großen Taten (ἀρεταί) der lokalen Gottheit den Pilgern erzählen, v.a. in Heil- und Isiskulten'.

111 Let alone in the way envisaged by Dillon 1994, 257: 'Priests and pilgrims alike, as *aretalogoi*, presumably exchanged accounts of the miraculous healing power of the god: "Do you remember the time Asklepios put the goblet back together again? When Asklepios cured lameness?"'

112 Accordingly, there is no mention of the *aretalogoi* in the survey of the temple personnel by Vidman 1970, 48–65, nor by Dunand 1973, vol. 1, 162–189 (where they are listed only vol. 3, 313 in the prosopography, together with the *oneirokritai*, whose status, however, is no less in doubt); cf. also Vidman, esp. p. 55; in the papyri they are not attested at all. That these are, as Kiefer 1929, 14 suggested, 'fest angestellte Beamte' in the cult of Sarapis, whose task was, by narrating the god's deeds, to compensate for his lacking mythology (thus, following Weinreich 1919, 10–11; similarly, still Fraser 1972, 670), would be taking it too far; rather optimistic also Dignas 2008, 81: 'The roles of *oneirokritēs* and *aretalogos* were part of the everyday life of the cult of Sarapis'.

113 Thus already Dietrich 1966, who, contrary to the then prevailing (cf. pp. 197–209 the review of the state of research) and still widely held view, convincingly argues for a passive mission, or better passive dispersion; for the definition, cf. esp. pp. 2, 210–212, and the summary pp. 335–339; similarly, albeit independently Solmsen 1979, 45 (obviously misinterpreted by Rossignoli 1997, 82 with n. 97 [p. 92]); Baumgarten 1998, 215–216, esp. with n. 179; Dunand 2000, 65–79, in spite of the allegedly explicit chapter heading 'La propagande isiaque'; esp. den Boeft 2003, 14, 22–23.

In any case, there have always been places—and times—where the exchange between different cultures has occurred with quite peculiar intensity, and where we find special personalities who are able to absorb the foreign language, foreign concepts, and foreign practices, and to pass these on in a recognizable form. Hellenistic Delos was without doubt such a place,[114] just as this period was generally characterised by the abundance of transformational processes, in which foreign cultural material was adapted and changed beyond recognition to the native, thus creating something quite new. Far from being mere storytellers, the *aretalogoi*, thereby, may have proved themselves to be mediators between cultures, and thus, played a central role in the attainment of 'translating' between the Egyptian and Greek worlds. As close as they were to the *hymnologoi*, with whom they are nearly identical,[115] or the *theologoi* we encounter, according to Maria Totti, at Maroneia,[116] this role of mediation is what we should see as their specific trait. The shift in the concept of *arete* to individual grand deeds of the gods and, more precisely, to miracle cures was, of course, to increasingly dissolve the original connection to cult practice. In the course of time, the concept was transferred to the proclaimers of such events as well, so that the designation became ever more arbitrary, until, in the end, it served only as a source of mockery.

Archaic Sequences, Modern Tales

As far as the elements of broad narrative arrangement are concerned, that are supposedly typical of aretalogy[117]—when, for example, the miraculous

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[114] For the exceptional case of Delos in respect to the *aretalogoi* that are attested but here, Baslez 1977, 235–236; in view of only two instances, however, one can hardly claim that 'la fonction est considérée comme important dans le culte égyptien de Délos' (p. 235).

[115] Thus Crusius 1895, 672: 'Der ἀρεταλόγος ist also fast identisch mit dem ὑμνολόγος (*hymnologus* auch in Inschriften); er verkündet die ἀρεταί der Gottheit, wie sie sich in der heiligen Sage und ihren Wundern manifestieren; man wird die von Diod. Sic. 1.27 benutzten Isishymnen [...] als ἀρεταλογίας ansprechen dürfen'.

[116] Cf. *supra* text with n. 42.

[117] On this, esp. Merkelbach 1962, who detects, time and again, in the ancient novels aretalogical motifs (pp. 106, 171, 290, 320), phrases (p. 209 with n. 1), traits (p. 220), and so forth, indeed he declares 'Dies ist ein rein aretalogischer Schluß' (p. 113, cf. also 170, 277). This affects his conception of the aretalogists as well, who are supposed to have existed 'in Griechenland, Syrien, Ägypten von jeher' (p. 333): 'Eine Mischung von Scherzen, ja Schlüpfrigem mit Ernstem und Heiligem, das waren also die Geschichten der Aretalogen, die im Dienst der Tempel standen und den Hörer zum wahren Glauben führten' (p. 89), such as the young heroine of

intervention of the deity is announced in dreams, the perplexity of the contemporaries present is described, and the reliability of the eyewitnesses is explained, who are to tell all this to posterity—,[118] none of this seems to have been usual in the early phase, and certainly not a matter of course. In the material from Epidauros, the earliest texts represent, indeed, only sober descriptions of unexpected cures, which apparently caused Nilsson to recognise only a precursor of 'classical' aretalogy in this.[119] In the beginning, then, there are only simple lists to be found here too, especially when we consider that the reports of such events were probably first collected in a different form, until it was decided to fix them in writing on a stele.[120]

Certainly it cannot well be said that the sequence of these healing reports, formulated as they are in entire sentences, represents a catalogue-like listing, as was characteristic of the Egyptian compositions; there is also no uniform structure, so that the entire picture makes less of an impression. Nevertheless, in a quite similar way a tendentially endless series of divine deeds and virtues was created, in which the individual statements of the potency of the deity occupy more the background. In this way, the experience of divine in the world was continually renewed, so that whoever perceived these texts could experience it himself with his senses.

This constant sequence must have had a compelling effect, even when stylistic means were not used, such as the repeated 'I am' of the Isis texts.[121] In

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the novel who earns 'Geld durch Leierspiel, Erzählungen und Rätsel—sozusagen als Aretalogin' (p. 167).

118 On this last point cf. esp. Henrichs 1978, who stresses that the Horatian ode to Dionysos *Carm.* 2.19.2 is to be understood fully only if one takes into account the 'aretalogische Beteuerung *credite posteri*' (p. 207).

119 Nilsson 1961, 228, cf. already *supra* text with n. 4. It should be mentioned, too, that explicit references to divine *arete* are still lacking here.

120 The precise circumstances are certainly not to be reconstructed entirely. According to Herzog 1931, 2, the stelae reveal themselves 'durch Sprache und Inhalt als das Werk einer einheitlichen Redaktion'; otherwise, LiDonnici 1995, 40, who surmises 'a long history of collection, arrangement and redaction' of the votive inscriptions that have been offered as gifts to the deity after the healing and were collected and inventoried at several years intervals; cf. e.g., *IG* IV^2 1, 121, ll. 24, 30 and esp. 7–8 τυχοῦσα δὲ τούτων ἐπὶ τὸ ἄνθεμα ἐπεγράψατο· "οὐ μέγε[θο]ς πίνακος θαυμαστέον, ἀλλὰ τὸ θεῖον κτλ".; on this, already Herzog 1931, 8 with comm., and cf. the more general discussion ibid. pp. 54–56; LiDonnici 1995, 44–49, and esp. the 'Interpretative Scenarios' pp. 50–75.

121 But cf. the emphatic οὗτος/αὕτα, that after a 'heading', which gave the name of the person healed and, if need be, some other keywords, normally marked the beginning of the narration as such; thus, cf., in the new reckoning by LiDonnici 1995 ('it is important to view each tale in the context of its place on its own stele' [p. 101 with n. 2], the established one still in brackets) and supplements included, A 1, 4–8, 13, 14, 17–20; B 3–21 (= no. 23–41); C 1–4,

any case, whoever attempted to describe the potency of a deity in this place to outsiders, similarly to the *aretalogoi*, will also never have been satisfied with a single example, however impressive.[122] Certain things in common, such as the long list of the *aretai*, and not least the lack of any clear principle of order, may additionally have helped the mutual *rapprochement* of both types of text. It should be kept in mind that there is always something archaic about such unsystematic lists, quite welcome in religious contexts, which probably made them seem even more related than they really were.

The much more modern variant focused instead on the single deed of a deity, a deed narrated with great attention to detail, and permitting one to experience the divine effect, whether as cure, punishment, or some other unexpected and surprising act. The increasing interest in this narrative pattern, which may be hinted at already in the inscription of Maroneia, with its prefaced report of a cure, was to gain dominance in the following centuries. The process of individualisation of the event, on the one hand, and its embedding, on the other, in wider contexts, and then its embellishment in as colourful a way as possible, led nearly unavoidably to a trivialisation, until we find a weak reflection of the Isis texts, reduced to a mere literary motif, still in Apuleius' famous *The Golden Ass*.[123]

With this, however, we have reached the end point of a development which comprises the reports on the *arete* of a deity, as well as the Egyptian compositions, and transforms these into something entirely new, namely the typical figures of the novellas and novels of Hellenistic and Imperial Roman times. From here the road is not long to the later miracle tales and

6, 19–23 (= nos. 44–47, 49, 62–66); D 2–3 (= nos. 68–69); cf. also A 15, B 2 (= no. 22) τοῦτον; A 16, B 3 (= no. 23) τούτου; B 1 (= no. 21) ὑπὲρ ταύτας; C 5 (= no. 48) τούτωι; thereafter, Herzog 1931 likewise for C 8–10, 14, 18 (= nos. 51–53, 57, 61; C 13 = no. 56 τούτου) as well as D 1 and 4 (= nos. 67, 70).

122 The joking suggestion of the slave Syrus in Ter. *Ad.* 535–536, *laudarier te audit lubenter; facio te apud illum deum; virtutes narro*, refers, as now generally accepted, contra Kiefer 1929, 13, to texts of the sort discussed here. Whatever Syrus meant by this more exactly, the plural can be regarded as significant.

123 Thus in the appearance by Isis in Apul. *Met.* 11.5–6, and cf. 11.2 the invocation of the goddess by Lucius, who has been transformed into an ass, prior to her dream appearance; for the first item, cf. the extensive comment by Griffiths 1975, 137–167, who denies, however, that the prayer to the *regina caeli* is to be referred to Isis (pp. 114–115). It may be noted that Merkelbach 1962, 338339, imputes a serious religious concern to Apuleius, nay he is convinced that 'Das XI. Buch … missioniert ganz offen' (337); thus, albeit less expressly, still 1995, 266–303 ch. 23. Differently, Solmsen 1979, 87–113 ch. 4 'A Problematic Convert'; likewise, esp. den Boeft 2003, 18–21 and, most recently, Bommas 2005, 96.

miracle books, which, however, lead us far from the genesis of aretalogy outlined here to quite different times and worlds.

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HELLENISTIC WORLD(S) AND THE ELUSIVE CONCEPT OF 'GREEKNESS'*

Eftychia Stavrianopoulou

> The city of the Sidonians | (honors) Diotimos, son of Dionysios, judge (*dikastes*), | who was victorious in the chariot race at Nemea. | Timocha[ri]s from Eleutherna made (this).
>
> When all drove [their swift horses] from their chariots [in the] Argive [valley], | rivals in the competition,| to you, O Diotimos, [the people] of Phoronis [gave] noble | fame, and you received the eternally memorable wreath. || For, first of the citizens, the glory of an equestrian (victory) from Hellas | have you brought to the home of the noble sons of Agenor. | Thebes, sacred city of Kadmos, also boasts, | seeing her mother-city glorious with victories. | As for your father Dionysios, fulfilled was [his vow concerning the] contest || when Hellas shouted this clear [message]: "Not only for its ships [is Sidon] extolled [above others], | but now also for prize-winning [chariot teams]".[1]

Diotimos, chief magistrate (δικαστής) of Phoenician Sidon and winner of the four-horse chariot race in the Nemean games, is the honoured person in this epigram, dated to around 200 BCE. His name and the name of his father are Greek; the sculptor is from Crete; the epigram refers both to the cities of Argos and Thebes and to their respective ancestors, Phoroneus and Kadmos, and denotes Sidon as colony of Argos due to its Argive founder, Agenor, but also as the mother-city of Thebes through Kadmos.

This epigram reveals an excellent command of the Greek language along with the style and themes typical of Greek agonistic inscriptions. By underscoring its close relationship to the venerable cities of the Greek mainland,

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1 Merkelbach—Stauber, *SGO* IV 20/14/01 = Kaibel, *EG* 932 = Moretti, *IAG* 41; Ebert 1972, 188–193 no. 10; trans. Burstein 1985, 45 no. 34: Ἀργολικοῖς ὅκα πάντες ἐ[ν ἄγκεσιν ὠκέας ἵππους] | ἤλασαν ἐκ δίφρων εἰς ἔριν ἀντ[ίπαλοι],| σοὶ καλὸν ὦ Διότιμε, Φορωνίδος [ὤπασε λαός] |κῦδος, ἀειμνάστους δ' ἦλθες ὑπὸ στεφ[άνους]. || ἀστῶγ γὰρ πράτιστος ἀφ' Ἑλλάδος ἱππικὸν [ε]ὖχος | ἄγαγες εἰς ἀγαθῶν οἶκον Ἀγηνοριδᾶν. | αὐχεῖ καὶ Θήβας Καδμηίδος ἱερὸν ἄστυ | δερκόμενον νίκαις εὐκλέα ματρόπολιν· | πατρὶ δέ σῶι τελέ[θ]ει Διονυσί[ωι εὖχος ἀγ]ῶνος, || Ἑλλὰς ἐπεὶ τρανῆ τόνδ' ἐβόασε [θρόον]· | 'οὐ μόνον ἐν ναυσίν μεγαλύνε[αι ἔξοχα, Σιδών, | ἀλλ' ἔτι καὶ ζευκτοῖς ἀθλοφ[όροις ἐν ὄχοις'].

Sidon also represents itself as part of the Greek world. One might therefore assume that the inscription documents the 'perméabilité de la ville phénicienne aux valeurs hellénistiques'.[2] Then again, certain phrases indicate the limits of such an interpretation. For example, the participation of Diotimos and other Sidonians in Panhellenic games in Athens, Delos, and Nemea does suggest the familiarity of certain groups to Greek culture and their willingness to engage in it, but proof of the existence of a gymnasium and Greek-style athletic contests in Sidon demonstrate that such practices were established rather late, that is, in the second half of the first century BCE. The designation of Diotimos as *dikastes* is doubtless 'borrowed' from the world of Greek institutions, most probably to denote the Sidonian office of a *shofet*, but the choice demands some explanation. Although the elite of Sidon was well aware of Greek vocabulary, as demonstrated by the epigram, Diotimos did not translate the title *shofet* with the more common term *archon*.[3] Apparently the literal translation of his office carried more weight for Diotimos (and certainly his fellow citizens) than did an adoption of a term merely on account of its familiarity. Apparently of equal importance to the Sidonians was the portrayal of their city as the mother-city of Thebes, and one not only with Greek roots.

Such observations obviously clash with the one-sided view of a 'Hellenized' Sidon that an initial interpretation of the epigram may suggest.[4] The example of Sidon, however, demonstrates the complexity of intercultural

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[2] Couvenhes and Heller 2006, 35–38, 52 (quote on p. 36). See also Bikerman 1939, 91–99, Bagnall 1976, 22–24, Bringmann 2004, 327–328, Sartre 2006, 263–272, van Bremen 2007, 374–375. See also Sartre 2002, 97, who discusses how the Sidonians invented mythical ties with Argos and Thebes and used them in the construction of their identity.

[3] Cf. *P.Mich.* 1.3 (260–256 BCE) with the attestation of a certain Theodotos as τοῦ ἐκ Σιδῶνος ἄρχοντος, and *OGIS* 593 (ca. 200 BCE) with a funerary inscription for Apollophanes, son of Sesmaios, who ἄρξας τῶν ἐν Μαρίσηι Σιδωνίων ἔτη τριάκοντα καὶ τρία. See Bagnall 1976, 22; Millar 1983; Van 't Dack 1987, 7–8; Grainger 1991, 65–68, 81. Furthermore, Diotimos is probably a descendant of the kings of Sidon as shown by Habicht 2007, 125–127, who refers to the bilingual Greek-Phoenician dedication to Aphrodite of Diodotos, s. of Abdalonymos, King of Sidon (: *SEG* 36.758, Kos, ca. 325–300 BCE).

[4] One can still postulate an evolutionary model for the Hellenization of Sidon, and thus try to specify the reached 'degree'. One can also, as Jean-Christophe Couvenhes and Anna Heller recently suggest (2006, 38), analyze each case of cultural transfer separately and reconstruct the context, from which these transformations occurred, afterwards. The establishment of a gymnasium and of athletic games could be defined as 'un emprunt fonctionnel et formel à la fois', while the 'emprunt [*sc.* of the designation of *dikastes*] n' est que formel'. The common point in both kinds of cultural transfer resides in their instrumentalization by local elites, who wished either to demonstrate their commitment to Greek culture or to reaffirm the legitimacy of their authority within their own culture.

relations as sources point to the formation of multiple discourses as well as on-going traditions. Given the state of things, to insist on labelling or describing these processes simply as 'fusion', 'acculturation' or even 'apartheid' is to misrepresent the situation. Any attempt to trace a one-way flow of influence or to emphasize only select elements of the 'dominant' culture disregards two essential factors: first, cultures cannot be approached as fixed entities but must be understood as dynamic social systems with structures that both enable and regulate transformations in response to internal and external factors; second, intercultural encounters affect the discourses and practices of *all* parties involved. An outlook that takes these factors into consideration enables a deeper appreciation of the Hellenistic world and can see in it a particularly striking example of a multi-directional cultural flow that blurs the boundaries of what we define as 'Greek *koine*' and understand as 'Hellenization' in the Hellenistic period.

In this article I will focus on the transformative effects of intercultural encounters in the Hellenistic period. Any analysis of interaction between the various societies of this period must entail not a fixed concept of Greekness but rather one perceived as a constant process shaped by all parties involved through acts of cultural appropriation. From this perspective, available sources—texts, images and objects—can no longer be considered as 'seemingly static end products of intercultural contacts', but as part of that never-ending process embedded in long-term discourse and thus 'to a remarkable degree in transit'.[5] As Claire Sponsler has pointed out, 'the challenge for scholars [...] is to find a way of accessing the shifting processes of appropriation that produced those results now apparently fixed in ink or paint or stone'.[6]

In order to comprehend the fluidity of meaning provoked by the continually shifting processes of appropriation, it is helpful to use the concept of the 'social imaginary' as an analytical tool. In their respective elaborations of this concept, Cornelius Castoriadis and Charles Taylor demonstrate the constituent role it plays in the emergence and formation of worldviews and perceptions thanks to the close interconnection between practice and the imaginary.[7] The shaping of new perceptions, in other words, has a direct effect on embodied practice and provides the cultural forms that

5 Sponsler 2002, 21.
6 Sponsler 2002, 21.
7 Castoriadis 1987, Taylor 2004; on the concept of social imaginary see the 'Introduction' in this volume.

accompany the latter with meaning and legitimacy. Thus, any change in a society's imaginary may lead to the introduction of new practices or to the reinterpretation of established ones, which, in turn, may generate new ideas.

However, Castoriadis or Taylor do not sufficiently emphasise two aspects, which, from a methodological point of view are essential to the study of processes of appropriation: 1) the impact of intercultural entanglements on the social imaginary, and vice versa, and 2) the co-existence of multiple social imaginaries within one and the same society.

Both aspects are, in fact, significant when dealing with the phenomena and institutions of the Hellenistic period, such as claims for territorial inviolability (*asylia*), kinship (*syngeneia*), the multiplication of cult and agonistic festivals or even the manifestations (*epiphaniai*) of patron deities at moments of need. None of these phenomena were new *per se* since we can trace them back at least to the Classical period. What was undoubtedly new, however, was the sheer scale of these phenomena, attested in a plethora of inscriptions, from the third century BCE onwards. Also new was the fact that most of these trends were introduced by subjugated cities rather than by the *poleis* of Old Greece. The rise of these phenomena has commonly been interpreted as a result of the political turbulence after Alexander, i.e. as an effort to bring balance not only to an asymmetrical power relationship, but also a cultural one. Nevertheless, the political situation alone does not fully explain why local communities used and developed those institutions. In addition, the fact that they derived these institutions from a Greek milieu does not mean that they adopted them with no modifications.

In the remainder of this paper I shall first discuss the impact of intercultural encounters on the social imaginary (*or* discursive formations) of Greek and non-Greek societies on the basis of some examples, then try to sketch a model that might offer a coherent interpretative framework.

Greek World(s) I: 'Your' Kinsmen from Far Away

The phenomenon of *syngeneia*, to which I now turn, is an excellent example of the sorts of transformations that occurred in the third century BCE. From the second half of the third century on, many cities in Asia Minor began promoting their hitherto unknown Greek past by claiming mythical Greek founders and declaring themselves to be 'kinsmen' (*syngeneis*). Not only did cities like Teos or Magnesia on the Maeander, situated in the vicinity of ancient Greek cities rich in tradition, 'discover their roots', but

also those such as Alabanda in Karia.[8] The result of this phenomenon, documented in literary sources and over one hundred inscriptions, was a sudden proliferation of kinship myths, but also a world that was increasingly interconnected.[9]

A number of explanations have been advanced to account for this expansion and intensity in kinship myths. According to some scholars, the notion of interstate kinship was an attempt to establish 'invented' or fictive Greek ancestry and should thus be interpreted as an integral aspect of the process of Hellenization.[10] According to others, who have focussed on the use of interstate kinship in diplomacy, the 'kinship arguments are as much about setting a suitable framework as they are about persuasion'.[11] Most recently Lee Patterson has proposed that 'the rationale of kinship myth' be viewed as 'inclusion [...], a way to bring disparate peoples into a shared heritage'.[12]

All of these attempts at interpretation, however justified as they may be, derive from an etic and hellenocentric perspective. Would a focus on reconstructions of mythical traditions in which an interstate kinship may be rooted, contribute to a better understanding of the emic perspective? Should we perceive the spread of *syngeneia* as a 'natural phenomenon'[13] simply because the term is well attested in sources before the Hellenistic period?

The use of *syngeneia* in the power dialogue between Hellenistic kings and individual *poleis* is certainly the apparent, but also the secondary aspect of the phenomenon. The main emphasis should be placed on the fact that those non-Greek communities *thought* of themselves as members of the same family sharing the same myths and heroes. It is this self-perception and its construction that demands analysis, the kind of 'Greekness' that local communities assigned to themselves. In this sense, as I argue below, the epigraphic documentation on *syngeneia* should instead be considered as evidence of the on-going processes of appropriation and re-contextualisation of ideas and practices received from the outside.

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8 *OGIS* 234 = *FD* III 4.163 = Curty 1995, no. 13 = Rigsby 1996, no. 163 (202/201 BCE).

9 There is a vast bibliography on the vocabulary and conception as well as the use of kinship in diplomacy: Musti 1963 and 2001; Elwyn 1991; Curty 1995 (with a collection of the epigraphical material), 1999 and 2005; Will 1995; Giovannini 1997; Jones 1999; Lücke 2000, Erskine 2002 and 2003; Sammartano 2008/2009; Patterson 2010a, esp. 1–22, 83–123, and 2010b.

10 E.g. Jones 1999, 16: 'One of the major functions of kinship diplomacy was to mediate between Hellenes and barbarians'.

11 Erskine 2002, 110.

12 Patterson 2010a, 163. Cf. also Sumi 2004, esp. 80 and 83.

13 So e.g. Gehrke 2001, 297.

Although the term *syngeneia* and kinship myth are not restricted to the Hellenistic period, the increased usage of the term from the beginning of this period and the proliferation of kinship myths can be associated with Alexander's campaigns, in the course of which the Greeks' view of the world changed. As Tanja Scheer has observed,[14] the Greek conquerors envisaged the expanded and seemingly endless world by means of familiar elements such as the myths about gods and heroes from the mythical past.[15] Alexander himself tended to resort to kinship myth, and not only for political or military reasons.[16]

Indeed, he invented and developed new kinship patterns by forging close links between his own person and his acts, between 'his' heroic ancestors, such as Herakles or Achilles, and the regions he conquered. 'The whole campaign of Alexander can be interpreted as a venture following the trail of the mythical past: like Herakles, who had travelled the world and fought against the barbarians, Alexander too took up the fight with the barbarian foe. In the footsteps of Dionysos he travelled to India, beyond the boundaries of the known world';[17] he 'spared the Mallians [in Kilikia] the tribute they used to pay king Dareios because the Mallians were colonists (*apoikoi*) of the Argives, and he himself claimed to be descended from the Argives through the Heracleidae'.[18] Alexander's innovative use of kinship can best be observed in his propagation of his common ancestry with the Trojans through Andromache, which, as Brian Bosworth has noted, transformed Trojans from eastern barbarians to 'Hellenes on Asian soil'.[19]

The idea of embracing the unknown through genealogy was not new. Stories of family relationships and common descent between inhabitants of Asian and Greek cities are already attested in the Homeric epic and by Herodotos.[20] New, however, was the emphasis placed on the mythical past

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[14] Scheer 2003, esp. 218–220.

[15] Scheer 2003, 219: 'A common method of intellectual subjugation of unfamiliar lands consisted in making them accessible through eponymous heroes: every river, every tree, every region, according to the Greek view, was inhabited by local supernatural powers. Once the areas which they reached were mythically personalized, then the local family trees could easily be connected to the well-known Greek heroes'.

[16] Patterson 2010a, 83–105, esp. 84–86.

[17] Scheer 2003, 219; On his identification with Herakles and Dionysos, see Seibert 1994, 205–206; for an overview on Alexander and Achilles, see Ameling 1988, 657–692; see also Stewart 1993, 71–84, Erskine 2001, 226–231, and Dreyer 2009.

[18] Arr. *Anab*. 2.5.9.

[19] Bosworth 1988, 255.

[20] Cf. Gehrke 2005, 53–63, on the Homeric 'Grenzgänger' Bellerophon, Glaukos, Sarpedon and Telephos, and the Herodotean Perseus; on Perseus' cultural interconnections see Gruen

and its relevance to the present. The active link to the subjected regions and populaces forged by mythical kinship ties engendered 'by no means a one-sided ennobling of the Macedonians at the expense of the indigenous people whom they encountered'.[21] On the contrary, the invention of a common past facilitated the mental adjustment of the Greeks to their new circumstances and endorsed their presence in subjugated areas not (only) as masters, but also as 'relatives'. Thus, the new power situation apparently became a sort of a 'family-matter', with changes occurring among 'family-members', or at least this was how Alexander and his successors presented it. Moreover, the variety and plurality of new kinship bonds created a global web, with the Macedonian king and his Greek descent as a starting and reference point.

From this perspective, the expansion and use of the notion of kinship within the subjugated communities of Asia Minor can be understood in a double sense: as a response in a dialogue that began during Alexander's campaigns and as an expression of social imaginaries. But to what degree did the concept of *syngeneia* as adapted to the social imaginaries of these communities differ from that attributed to Alexander? What did it include? Epigraphic evidence from the city of Magnesia on the Maeander in Asia Minor may offer some clues.

In 208/07 BCE, the city of Magnesia on the Maeander decided to establish a sumptuous festival with penteteric games in honour of its *archegetes* Artemis on a par with those of an *isopythios* Panhellenic game.[22] In order to publicize the enhanced status of the festival and thus ensure its recognition, Magnesian ambassadors travelled to cities, leagues, and kings to invite them to participate. All invitations implied a request for acknowledgment of the inviolability (*asylia*) of the city and the country of Magnesians on the basis of the friendship (*philia*), familiarity (*oikeiotes*) and kinship (*syngeneia*)[23]

2011, 252–263; see also Patterson 2010a, 22–59 for further examples from Herodotos and Thukydides.

21 Scheer 2003, 219.

22 On the status of the festival of *Leukophryena*, see most recently the contradictory opinions of Slater and Summa 2006, 279–282, and Thonemann 2007. Sosin 2009 rejects the *communis opinio* since Kern 1901 of the existence of two campaigns of invitations (221/20 and 208/07 BCE) and argues instead 'that Magnesia did not canvass the Greek world until 208/7' (p. 2). On the festival, see Dunand 1978, Parker 2004, Sumi 2004, 85–87; on Hellenistic festivals in general, see Chaniotis 1995.

23 For the distribution of terms in the inscriptions of Magnesia, see Gehrke 2001, 295 with n. 48, and Sammartano 2008/2009, 120–127. On the use of the terms *syngeneia* and

that had always (*ek ton progonon*) existed between the Magnesians and all invited parties.[24] The scale of this initiative (20 teams of *theoroi*) and the success of the Magnesian delegations is epigraphically attested through more than 60 responses—in the form of decrees in terms of the cities and leagues and letters in terms of the kings—on the perimeter wall of the agora of Magnesia (Fig. 12). In fact, the original list must have included at least 200 cities.[25]

Nevertheless, the responses of cities, kings and leagues were not the only documents inscribed on the perimeter wall.[26] Two additional groups of texts were inscribed at the same time. The first, excerpts of which are discernable in the *polis*' decree and in the responses of the cities Same and Megalopolis as well as the Cretan league, recounted history (*Magnetika*), while the second presented the memorable past achievements of the Magnesians (τὰς Μαγνήτων πράξεις).[27] The question of the texts' authorship (one or several authors) has no conclusive answer, but given their editors' preference for synchronisms, the two groups must have been edited together.[28] Both groups of texts also tend to accentuate the kinship link between the Magnesians and the Aiolians rather than follow the older historiography of Possis, who instead seems to have favoured their Ionian-Attic origins.[29] Thus not only were all these documents, including the incoming responses from

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oikeiotes Sammartano concludes that 'appelli alla *syngeneia* appaiono conformi a criteri precisi basati non solo su genealogie mitiche ma anche su precisi filoni ethnografici che rinviano all'antichissimo sostratto ethnico tessalo-acheo, pre-dorico e pre-ionico [...]. Diversamente, I richiami alla *oikeiotes* sono adottanti in maniera sistematica per i restanti casi di identità non eolica e per esprimere i vincoli di "fratelanza" stretti anche con gli Stati federali' (p. 127). Cf. Jones 1999, 44, who equates the use of *oikeiotes* with the reluctance to acknowledge kinship. For discussions on the kinship terms in general, see Musti 1963, 2001, Elwyn 1991, 139–165, Curty 1995, 1999 and 2005; Will 1995; Lücke 2000; Sammartano 2007.

24 *I.Magnesia* 16 (= Kern 1894) = *Syll.*³ 557 = Rigsby 1996, no. 66 (with full bibliography). Re-editions by Ebert 1982 (= *SEG* 32.1147), with new readings and restorations by Slater and Summa 2006 and Thonemann 2007 (cf. *SEG* 56.1231 with further comments); see also Chaniotis 1988a, 34–40, Sumi 2004; see also below nn. 22, and 25.

25 For substantial discussions of this corpus of epigraphical testimonies, see Dušanić 1983, Rigsby 1996, 179–279 (nos. 66–131), Chaniotis 1999, Curty 1995, 108–124, Gehrke 2001, Sumi 2004, Sammartano 2008/2009, Sosin 2009, and Pezzoli 2012; see also below nn. 9, 22, and 24.

26 See *I.Magnesia*, plate II, for the perimeter wall. On the building program of the Artemision under the supervision of Hermogenes see Schädler 1991, 301–312, and Schmaltz 1995.

27 Chaniotis 1988a, 34–40 (T5–T6; T8).

28 Chaniotis 1988a, 36–37.

29 Possis: *FGrH* 480 F1 = Ath. 12.533 d–e; 480 F2 = Ath. 7.47.296 d; Dušanić 1983, 30; Chaniotis 1988a, 35; Sammartano 2008/2009, 119–120; Biagetti 2010, 61. The Aiolian colonization of Asia was allegedly earlier than its Ionian colonization, and took place after the Trojan war (e.g. Strabo 13.1.4, 13.4.2) or even before it (Philostr. *Her.* 33.48).

the outside, set up at the same time, but they were conceived from the outset as a coherent complex.

New temple, new festival, new identity? It seems so. Although available sources do not permit us to speak of a 'historical departure', the enormous effort that the Magnesians made to stress the image of their *polis* is indisputable. It is precisely for this reason that the Magnesian documents are of special interest, for what kind of self-portrayal did the Magnesians convey through the unparalleled extent of their use of the medium of inscriptions? Of what was it composed? What parts of it did they emphasize and what parts did they suppress? Finally, in the general plan, what position did the Magnesians assign to the replies?

Seemingly fixed, the narrative of the Magnesians' collective identity can be characterized as a balance between stable and flexible elements. One of its constituent elements lay in the connection to the cult of Artemis Leukophryene. This cult, attested since the Archaic period[30] and mentioned in the *sympoliteia* treaty between Smyrna and Magnesia on the Sipylos in 245 BCE,[31] was already the emblem of the community. However, now the bond between the Magnesians and their *archegetes* grew even stronger since it was the epiphany of their *archegetes* that provided the impetus for the introduction of a new festival and the recognition of 'the city and the land of the Magnesians on the Maeander as sacred and inviolable'.[32]

Another key element of the identity of the Magnesians is the story of their foundation,[33] which is represented as a combination of origin and migration. After leaving Thessaly, their original homeland, they came to Crete and from there finally to Magnesia. Glorification of the past is customary in self-narratives of this sort, and the story of the foundation of Magnesia is no exception as it expresses the role of the remote past through the status of the respective city in an emphatically positive way. In his account, the local historiographer connects the region of Magnesia in Thessaly to the cities of Magnesia on Crete, known through Plato,[34] and Magnesia on the

30 Anac. fr. 1.

31 *I.Magnesia am Sipylon* 1.84 = *OGIS* 229 = *I.Smyrna* 573 (: [ἀναθ]έτωσαν Σμυρναῖοι μὲν ἐν τῶι τῆς Ἀφροδίτης τῆς Στρατονικίδος ἱερῶι καὶ ἐμ Μαγνησίαι τῆι πρὸς τῶι Μαιάνδρωι ἐν τῶι τῆς Ἀρτέμιδ[ος τῆς Λευκοφρυη]νῆς ἱερῶι).

32 *I.Magnesia* 16.

33 *I.Magnesia* 17 = *FGrH* 482 F 3 = Merkelbach-Stauber, *SGO* I 02/01/01 = Chaniotis 1988a, 37–38 (T6); See also *SEG* 33.966; 35, 1128; Prinz 1979, 121–137; Dušanić 1983; Gehrke 2001, 294; Sumi 2004; Sammartano 2008/2009, 116–120; Biagetti 2010.

34 Pl. *Leg.* 4. 704b–c; 8.848d; 9.860e; 11.919d; 12.969a; Cf. e.g. Prinz 1979, 125–126, 133–136; Clay 1993; Biagetti 2010, 56–59.

Maeander in Asia Minor,[35] linking them through the migratory movement of the Magnesians. In this way the Magnesians succeeded in amalgamating different mythical traditions and presenting them as chapters in their history. The consecutive stops in the course of their migration alternate with quotations from the oracles from Delphi, thus reinforcing the impression of truthful narration on the reader or audience.[36]

Events cannot be conceived independently from the actors involved.[37] In the story of the foundation of Magnesia, the Magnesians are presented as blameless (ll. 28; 34: ἀμύμονες) and joyful people (l. 50: ὄλβιοι) living happily on Crete (l. 8: κ̣α̣τώικ‹ι›σαν εὐδαίμον[α ἐν Κρήτηι]), and readily obeying Apollo's divine signs and oracles[38] before being led by Leukippos, a 'brave man' and their kin from the lineage of Glaukos,[39] to Asia Minor. Their new home is similar to their original one and is at least equally rich.[40] The Magnesians succeed in settling down among 'mingled tribes' (*pamphyloi*)[41] in order to continue the *oikos* of Mandrolytos and gain the respect of their neighbours.[42] All in all, a thrilling story with a happy ending for people who well deserve it!

The author goes to great lengths to sketch a picture of the originally 'Greek' Magnesians, who, obeying to the oracles of Delphi, had to wander solely on account of their piety until they reached their final destination. He is even more eager to praise the virtues of their character, thereby composing the image of the 'ideal Magnesian'. Notable, however, are the many

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35 That is, all known instances of the place name with the exception of Magnesia on the Sipylos. Cf. also the comments of Merkelbach-Stauber *SGO* I, pp. 180–181, on the diverse mythical traditions that were eventually used by Magnesian historiographer(s).

36 The references to the interval of 80 years on *I.Magnesia* 17, l. 11 (: ὡς δὲ περὶ ὀγδοιήκονθ' ἔτη μετὰ τὴν ἄφιξιν) as well as to the synchronism on ll. 13–15 (: [ἱερωμένης] ἐν Ἄργει v Θεμιστοῦς, v προάρχοντος ἐν [Δελ]φοῖς τὴν ἐν[ναετηρίδα] Ξενύλλου) serve the same purpose.

37 On the following, see the observations by Chaniotis 1988a, 117.

38 *I.Magnesia* 17, ll. 8–10: κ̣α̣τώικουσαν εὐδαιμόν[ως μεταπεμψά]μενοι τέκ̣ν̣α καὶ γυναῖκα[ς, ἐ]νεφυσίωσάν τε κα̣[ὶ τοῖς γινομέ]νοις ἐξ ἑαυτῶν τὴμ βούλησιν τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν κατὰ [τὸν χρησμόν·]; 25–26: σπεύδο⟨ν⟩τες ἑαυτοῖς ἐπιτελεσθῆναι τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν τοῦ θεοῦ.

39 *I.Magnesia* 17, l. 38: Γλαύκου γένος ἄ⟨λ⟩κιμος ἀνήρ.

40 *I.Magnesia* 17, ll. 22–23: μή τι χερειοτέραμ βῶ̣λ̣[ο]μ Μ[ά]γνητα δάσασθαι χ̣ώρας ἧς Πηνειὸς ἔχει κα[ὶ] Πήλιον αἰ̣πύ; cf. also the descriptions of the territory of Magnesia on the Maeander in ll. 31–32, and 50–51.

41 *I.Magnesia* 17, ll. 31: Π̣αμφ̣ύλων ἐπ' ἄρουραν, 46: ἐπὶ Παμφύ[λ]ωγ κό[λ]πον; I follow here the suggestion of Merkelbach-Stauber *SGO* I, p. 185, 'παμφύλων versteht man am besten als Adjektiv, nicht als Volksnamen; die Pamphylier wohnten ja in der Südküste Kleinasiens, nicht an der Westküste'. But cf. Biagetti 2010, 43 with n. 9.

42 *I.Magnesia* 17, ll. 50–51: ἔνθα δὲ Μ[α]νδρολύτου δόμον ὄλβιοι οἰκήσο[υσιν Μ]άγνητ⟨ε⟩ς πολί̣ε̣[σσι] π̣εριν̣κτιόνεσσιν ἀγητ[οί]. Mandrolytos was the father of Leukophrye, who became Leukippos' wife (Parth. *Amat. narr.* 5.5); cf. Biagetti 2010, 44–46.

unfavourable things left out of this account.[43] For example, versions of the tale in which Leukippos consults the oracle of Delphi after murdering his father,[44] or which recount the violent expulsion of the Magnesians from Crete,[45] are suppressed. Yet what does this positive self-presentation express beyond a desire to make one's own look wonderful? Certainly, it is a way in which they can legitimize their position as a honourable city and thus justify their decision to claim Panhellenic status for the festival of their deity-patron and the territorial inviolability that accompanies it. Above all, however, it represents the authorized version of a cultural history 'that justifies retrospectively the identity of a given society, and, more importantly, expresses what its members want or imagine themselves to be'.[46]

Still, the mythological narrative is deliberately not constructed to be rigid, but has an inherent flexibility, which allows for change, alteration or supplementation. Olivier Curty has pointed out that coherence is an indispensable feature in claims of kinship, since 'lorsque sont attestées plusieurs parentés pour une cité, on observe que, généralement, elles se justifient toutes par la même généalogie. Les cités ainsi apparentées constituent un réseaux cohérent, appartenant à un même système de légendes'.[47] Crucial to achieving such coherence is an ability to fine-tune the details of a common mythical narrative and achieve a balance between acceptance and rejection in the new version.[48] The Magnesian corpus reveals that various strategies were used to this end by the Magnesians.[49] The kinship between

43 Dušanić 1983, 19–25; Chaniotis 1988a, 117–118.

44 Parth. *Amat. narr.* 5.5.

45 *FGrH* 26 F1.27 (Konon).

46 Zeitlin 1993, xii. See also the comments by Clarke 2008, 315–316 'on the malleable past' in inter-*polis* and intra-*polis* contexts. Ideally, the study of a society's 'self-image' must be supplemented by its visual and material expressions (for an exemplary analysis, see Kuttner 2005). Thus, for example, it is interesting to not that the amazonomachy is depicted on the frieze of the great temple of Artemis Leukophryene (Yaylalı 1976, 13–54; Davesne 1982), while no allusion is made to it in the inscriptions. But a reference such as φέροπλον λαὸν ἄγωμ Μάγνητα (*I.Magnesia* 17.46–47) or their participation in the defence of Delphi with Greek cities against the Celts (*I.Magnesia* 46.9–10) indicates that it would not have been difficult for them to adapt the amazonomachy to local myths. In addition, Ἀμαζονίς was the title of a lost work by the Magnesian historian Possis (*FGrH* 480 F2 = Ath. 7.47.296 d); cf. also Biagetti 2010, 60–61 and 63, who is inclined to believe that this tradition 'va probabilmente ricollegato alle origini pre-greche del culto della Madre Terra'.

47 Curty 1995, 204.

48 See also text below.

49 See the discussion of Curty 1995, 245–253, on strategies such as the 'méthode de l'homonymie', 'le choix d'une figure emblématique', 'la notion d'*epiktisis*' or the development of a distinct chronology.

Magnesia and Megalopolis, for example, is founded on the homonymy between the Arkadian hero Elatos, one of the sons of Arkas, and the Thessalian Elatos, who, like Magnes, the founder of Magnesia, belonged to the Lasiths.[50] The genealogical link to Same on Kephallenia is constructed in a different manner through the great Panhellenic stemma of Hellen and his son Aiolos, the common ancestor of its eponymous founders, Magnes and Kephalos.[51]

Fine-tuning different local traditions was indeed indispensable to the construction of a shared past between Magnesia and the cities visited, but equally important was proof of already rendered services. As mentioned in the decree of Apollonia on the Rhydankos concerning the renewal of their *syngeneia* with their mother-city Miletos, the Milesians διακούσαντες [...] μετὰ πάσης εὐνοίας καὶ ἐπισκεψάμενοι τὰς περὶ τούτων ἱστορίας καὶ τἆλλα ἔγγραφα ἀπεκρίθησαν τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀληθείας γεγενῆσθαι ἄποικον τῆς ἑαυτῶν πόλεως.[52] The Milesians were not the only ones who required such proofs for the Magnesians too were well aware of the importance and the persuasive properties of such documents.[53] In fact, we learn about the Magnesians' ἔγγραφα through the responses of the invited parties. The references pertain to the good deeds (*euergesiai*) of the Magnesians towards the cities they visited.[54] In Megalopolis, for example, the Magnesians were praised for their financial contribution to the erection of the city's wall.[55] For the citizens of Epidamnos, Same, Ithaka, Kerkyra and Apollonia, 'the aid provided by [the Magnesians'] forefathers to the temple in Delphi, having defeated in battle the barbarians [*sc.* the Celts] who had advanced to pillage the riches of the god' in 279 BCE, was highly appreciated.[56] Equally

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50 *I.Magnesia* 38; cf. Curty 1995, 247; but cf. Sammartano 2008/2009, 126.

51 *I.Magnesia* 35; see also Sammartano 2008/2009, 123–124, and Patterson 2010a, 113–117.

52 *I.Milet* I 3, 155.8–12 = Curty 1995, no. 58.

53 Cf. *I.Magnesia* 46.12–16: ἐνεφάνιξαν δὲ καὶ τὰς εἰς τοὺς ἄλλους [Ἕλ]λανας γεγενημένας εὐε[ρ]γεσίας διά τε τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ χρησμῶν καὶ διὰ τῶ[ν π]οιητᾶν καὶ διὰ τῶν ἱ[σ]τορ[ι]αγράφων τῶν συγγεγραφότ[ων] τὰς Μαγνήτων πρ[άξ]ει[ς], παρανέγνωσαν δὲ καὶ τὰ ψαφίσματ[α] τὰ ὑπάρχοντα αὐτοῖς παρὰ ταῖς πόλ[ε]σιν, ἐν οἷς ἦν καταγεγραμμ[έ]ναι τιμαί τ[ε] καὶ στέφαν[ο]ι εἰς δόξαν ἀνίκοντα ⟨τᾶι⟩ [πό]λ[ε]ι.

54 On the establishment of 'a firm reciprocal bond' through services to others, see Gehrke 2001, 291–292; see also Sumi 2004, 84–85.

55 *I.Magnesia* 38.26–29 = Chaniotis 1988a, 38 (T7a): εὐνόως τε γὰρ ποσ[ε]δέξαντο οἱ Μάγνητες καὶ ἔδωκαν ἰν τὸν τειχισμὸν τᾶς πόλιος Δαρεεικὸς τριακοσίος, τὸς ἐκόμισεν Ἀγαμήστωρ.

56 Epidamnos: *I.Magnesia* 46.3–10 = Chaniotis 1988a, 38 (T7b); Sumi 2004, 84–85 (with the translation of the quoted passage on p. 84); Same: *I.Magnesia* 35.20–21; Ithaka: *I.Magnesia* 36.7–8; Kerkyra: *I.Magnesia* 44.13–16; Apollonia: *I.Magnesia* 45.21–23.

acknowledged was the mediation of the Magnesians in an internal struggle on Crete,[57] as well as their participation in the foundation of Antiocheia in Persis.[58]

Thus, the decrees clearly show that the arguments of the Magnesians—their need for a new festival due to the goddess' epiphany, their claim to kinship and to having rendered services to the Greeks—were fully embraced by those whom they addressed. In fact, the acceptance of the festival and of the *asylia* was just one of the measures decreed by the cities. They went so far as to incorporate the claims of the Magnesians into their civic life, ordering that their decree be included in the laws of their cities, that it be described on a stele erected in a prominent place and proclaimed during their most important festivals, and that the day of the arrival of the Magnesians *theoroi* be declared a public holiday.[59] In this way, 'the memory of the affair was

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57 *I.Magnesia* 46.10–12; cf. also *I.Magnesia* 65 and 67. The Magnesian mediation is mentioned in the decree of Epidamnos; cf. also Sammartano 2008/2009, 124–125 with nn. 51 and 52.

58 *I.Magnesia* 61.14–19. A further example of Magnesia's help in founding a city may be the long decree of 79 + 80b, perhaps of Antiocheia in Pisidia (cf. Strabo 12.8.14): Rigsby 1996, 272.

59 E.g. *I.Magnesia* 28.4–5 (: τοὺς νομο[γράφο]ụς τᾶς πόλ[ιος καταχωρίξαι] τόδε τὸ ψάφισμα ἐν τοὺς νόμους); 32.31–36 (: ὑπάρχειν δὲ καὶ τοῖς Μάγνησιν φίλοις καὶ οἰκείοις οὖσιν τὸ δίκαιογ καθάπερ καὶ τοῖς προξένοις τῶν Ἀπειρωτᾶν. ὅπως δὲ εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον ὑπάρχηι φανερὰ τὰ δε[δ]ογμẹ́να, ἀναγράψαι τ[ὸ] ψάφισμα ἐν Δωδώναι ἐν τῶι ἱερῶι τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Νάου ἐν τῶι βήματι τῶι Ἀθηναίων ἀναθέματι); 34.23–30 (: ἐπαινέσαι δὲ καὶ τοὺς θεαροὺς Ἀπολλοφάνην Αἰσχύλου, Εὔβουλον Ἀναξαγόρα, Λυκομήδην Χαρισίου καὶ στεφανῶσαι αὐτοὺς δάφνạς στεφάνωι κατὰ τὰ πάτ̣ρια εὐσεβείας ἕνεκεν τᾶ̣ς ποτὶ τὰν θεὰν καὶ τᾶς ἐν τὰμ πατρίδα φιλοτιμίας, καὶ εἶμεν αὐτ̣[οὺς] καὶ ἐκγόνους προξένους καὶ εὐερ[γέτ]ạς̣ τοῦ κ̣οιν[οῦ τ]ῶ[μ Φωκέ]ων καὶ ἰσοπολίτας κ̣αὶ ὑπάρχειν αὐτ[οῖς πάντα τὰ φιλάνθρωπα ὅσ]α καὶ [τοῖς π]ρ̣οξένοις καὶ εὐργέτ[α]ις Φωκέων, ἀναγράψαι δὲ καὶ τοὺς [Φ]ωκάρ̣χας [τ]ὸ ψάφισμ[α τ]οῦ[τ]ο ἐν στάλαι λιθίναι καὶ ἀναθεῖναι ἐ[ν] τ̣ὸ ἱερὸν τᾶς Ἀθανᾶς τᾶς Κραναίας, τὸ δὲ ἀ̣νάλωμα δόμεν τοὺς [Φ]ωκάρχας καὶ τοὺς χρ[η]ματιστὰς τᾶς [Ἀθανᾶς,] καταχωρίξαι δὲ τοὺς ν̣ομογράφους κα[ὶ] ἐν τοὺς νόμους [τ]ὸ ψάφισμα τοῦτο); 35.18–19 (: καὶ καλεῖν τὸν δᾶμον τὸμ Μαγνήτων ἐμ προεδρίαν Διονυσίοις καὶ ἐν τὰν θυσίαν καὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα τοῦ Κεφάλου) 50.39–42 (: ἀναγορεῦσαι δὲ καὶ τὴν ἀσυλίαν καὶ τὴν καθιέρω[σιν] τῆς τε πόλεως καὶ τῆς χώρας τῆς Μαγνήτων το[ὺς] ἄρχοντας ἐν τῶι θεάτρωι, ὅταν πρῶτον ἄγωμεν [τὰ Διο]νύσια τὰ μεγάλα, τραγῳ̣δῶν τῶι ἀγῶνι); 73b.11–17 (: ἐπὶ τοῖς] γεγο[ν]ό⟨σι⟩ν ἀγαθοῖς Μάγνησιν κατὰ τ[ὰ] λό̣[για τοῦ] θεοῦ τοὺς ⟨μὲ⟩ν ἱερεῖς καὶ τὰς ἱερείας ἀνοῖξ̣[αι τοὺς] ναοὺς καὶ λιβαν̣ωτ[ὸν] ἐπιθυμιᾶν ἐπευ[χ]ομẹ́[νους γί]ν⟨ε⟩σ[θ]αι τὰ [ἀγαθὰ τῶι τε] δ̣ή̣[μ]ωι ἡμῶν καὶ τῶι̣ Μαγν[ήτων] ... τ. ἀφ̣[ιέναι τοὺς] παῖδας ἐκ τῶμ μαθημά[των -]); 79 + 80b.16–20 (: ἀφ[ιέ]ναι δὲ [κ]αὶ [τ]οὺς [π]αῖδ[ας κ]α[ὶ] τ⟨ὰ⟩ς παῖδας ἐκ τῶ[ν] μ[α]θ[ημάτων ἐ]ν τῆιδε τῆι ἡμέ[ρ]αι, ποιεῖν δὲ [τ]ὸ [αὐτὸ] τοῦτ[ο ε]ἰς τ[ὸ λοι]π̣όν, ὅτα[ν ὑποδεχώμεθα] παρὰ Μαγνήτ[ω]ν τ[ὸ]ν θεωρὸ[ν] τὸν α[ὐτῶν,] τοὺς [δὲ] στρα[τηγ]οὺς καὶ βουλ[ευτὰς μετά] τε τῶν γραμ⟨μ⟩ατέων [κ]αὶ τοῦ ἐξ̣ε̣[τα]στ̣[οῦ] κατὰ μῆ[να] θ̣ύσασ[θ]αι τοῖς Θε[σ]μ[οφό]ρ̣οις καὶ Ἀρτέμιδι Σωτείρ[αι κ]αὶ Ἀρτέμ[ιδι Λε]υκ[οφ]ρ[υην]ῆι); 85.23–25 (: [κληθ]ῆναι δὲ αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν κοινὴν ἑστίαν τοῦ δήμου, κατ̣ασκευασθῆναι δὲ καὶ φ[ιάλην ἀπὸ δραχμῶν .....c.15......]ạκοσίων ἣγ καὶ ἀναθέτωσαν οἱ ἀποσταλησόμενοι ὑπὸ τ[ῆ]ς πόλεως θεωροὶ [εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος]). Cf. also Chaniotis 1999, 59–60; Sammartano 2008/2009, 115.

abundantly guaranteed'.[60] Moreover, every four years all relationships were ritually renewed on the occasion of the festival.

Nonetheless, the decrees, which constitute the bulk of the inscribed documentation and are the source of our information on the Magnesians' line of argument, convey *the answers* of the recipients. This means that these texts are testimony primarily of the way in which the cities perceived and appropriated Magnesian stories and claims. The piety emphasized by the Magnesians, for example, was greeted in some cities with expressions and acts of their own piety: τύχ[αις] ἐπ̣ὶ ταῖς ἀρίσταις ἀπ[οκ]ρίνασθαι Μάγνησιν, ὅτι ὁ δᾶμος ὁ τῶν Ἐπιδαμνίων [αὐτ]ός τε ποτὶ τὸ θεῖον εὐσεβέως τυγχάνει διακείμενος, πά̣τ̣ριόν τέ ἐστιν α̣ὐ̣[τῶι] καὶ τὰς τῶν οἰκείων τιμὰς συναύξειν, is the answer of the Epidamnians,[61] while Antiocheia in Pisidia (?) and another unknown city set their version of piety on display by initiating public prayers and holidays.[62] Megalopolis and Antiocheia in Persis took up the opportunity to repeat at some length their own particular historical connections to Magnesia.[63] Although the *euergesiai* of the Magnesians towards the Greeks were generally affirmed,[64] some cities, such as Athens, did not allude to this argument, while others, such as Antiocheia in Persis, kept repeating it.[65] Thus, the communities presented themselves[66] as well as the version they adapted of Magnesian claims by honouring the Magnesians.

In this sense, the decrees/replies of the cities corresponded to honorary decrees, in which a bestowing party testified to the 'good deeds' of the other and at the same time praised itself as their receiver. To the Magnesians, however, these decrees served as proofs, *apodeixeis*, which, now (re-)introduced from the outside, reinforced their view of their mythical/historical past and

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[60] Gehrke 2001, 295–296. On the construction of memory in the *polis* in general see also the remarks of Ma 2009.

[61] *I.Magnesia* 46.23–26; cf. also 44.24–26 (Kerkyra) and 48.11–13 (Eretria). Rigsby 1996, 228 (ad l. 25), notes that many similar expressions of piety can be found in the decrees for Teos ('we too worship Dionysus').

[62] *I.Magnesia* 73b.11–17 and 79 + 80b.16–20 (the texts are cited in n. 59).

[63] See above nn. 55 and 58.

[64] *I.Magnesia* 25; 31–32; 34–36; 38–39; 43–44; 46–48; 54; 58; 73b; 61; 63; 86. Cf. also Gehrke 2001, 296: 'Greekness, that is to say Hellenic identity, forms a natural field of evidence, in that one counted services as services to oneself too, if they were performed for other Greeks, and especially if they benefited the totality of the Greeks'.

[65] *I.Magnesia* 61.12–14.20–21.24–25.36–37.

[66] Cf. the letter of the Bithynian King Ziaelas to the Koans who states that 'we do in fact exercise care for all Greeks who come to us as we are convinced that this contributes in no small way to one's reputation' (Welles, *RC* 25.11–17 = Rigsby 1996, no. 11; trans. Hannestadt 1996, 77–78). See also Sumi 2004, 85 with n. 47.

supplemented their self-perception.[67] It is in this way that the Magnesians constructed their 'world' of interconnected heroes and cities as well as their integral place within it—a world of Aiolian pedigree that consisted of the 'first Greek colonists of Asia',[68] and in which they played the reliable neighbour, friend and kin of the Greeks and governed by obeying the gods' commands, and above all the 'centro ideale dell' *Hellenikòn* incardinato nel culto di Artemide'.[69]

Greek World(s) II: 'Our' Kinsmen from Far Away

The discourses on the idea of kinship that grew out of the interactions between Greeks and local communities in Asia Minor led to reciprocity and provided a framework for reverse cultural flow. The appeal of the small city of Kytenion in Doris to the city of Xanthos in Lykia is a case in point. Discovered in Xanthos and displayed by the Xanthians, the inscription[70] contains a request for financial support from the Kytenians, who had suffered much destruction through the unfortunate combination of an earthquake and invasion, and the rejection of their request.[71] The long and impressive text reveals the efforts made by the Kytenian ambassadors to demonstrate their kinship to the Xanthians by invoking a complex network of links and associations:

> They request us, recalling the kinship that exists between them and us from gods and heroes, not to allow the walls of their city to remain demolished. Leto [they say], the goddess who presides over our city (*archegetis*), gave birth

67 That the corroboration of their history by a third party was important to the Magnesians, is shown by the forged decree of the Cretan *koinon* [*I.Magnesia* 20 = *FGrH* 482 F4; Chaniotis 1988a, 246 (D27)]; cf. also Sumi 2004, 82–83. In addition, Sumi asks whether 'the city-states were aware of the Magnesians' plan to build a monument consisting of the decrees that they collected', and whether this 'knowledge that they were part of such a large undertaking could have influenced their decision' (p. 85). But cf. *I.Magnesia* 79 + 80b.9–11.

68 Cf. *IG* II^2 1091.3–5 (138–161 CE) = *OGIS* 503: [ἐπειδὴ Μάγνητες οἱ] πρὸς τῷ Μαιάνδρῳ ποταμῷ ἄποικοι [ὄντες Μαγνήτων] τῶν ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ, πρῶτοι Ἑλλήνων [διαβάντες ε]ἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν καὶ κατοικήσαντες.

69 Sammartano 2008/2009, 137.

70 The inscription was originally published and commented on by Bousquet 1988 (= *SEG* 38.1476; 53.1719 with further bibliography); on the date, see Walbank 1989; for discussions of this text, see Curty 1995, no. 75; Hadzis 1997; Chaniotis 1999, 53–54, 2008, 154–156, 2009, 249–259; Jones 1999, 61–62, 139–143; Lücke 2000, 30–52; Erskine 2002, 101–102, and in this volume; Ma 2003; Price 2005, 121–122; Patterson 2010a, 118–123.

71 Due to its weak economical situation (cf. Wörrle 2010, 393–394 *contra* Bousquet 1988, 44–45), Xanthos made a small donation of five hundred drachmas.

> to Artemis and Apollo amongst us; from Apollo and Koronis the daughter of Phlegyas, who was descended from Doros, Asclepios was born in Doris.
>
> In addition to the kinship (*syngeneia*) that exists between them and us (deriving) from these gods, they also recounted the bond of kingship that exists between us from the heroes, presenting the genealogy between Aiolos and Doros.
>
> In addition, they indicated that the colonists sent out from our land by Chrysaor, the son of Glaukos, the son of Hippolochos, received protection from Aletes, one of the descendants of Herakles: for [Aletes], starting from Doris, came to their aid when they were being warred upon. Putting an end to the danger by which they were beset, he married the daughter of Aor, the son of Chrysaor. Indicating by many proofs the goodwill that they had customarily felt for us from ancient times because of the tie of kinship, they asked us not to allow the greatest of the cities of the Metropolis to be obliterated.[72]
>
> (*SEG* 38.1476, ll. 14–33: 206/205 BCE)

Like the ambassadors of Magnesia on the Maeander, the representatives of Kytenion supplied a long record of their relationship to the Xanthians. That the Xanthians attached importance to the genealogical links presented to them by the Kytenians is beyond doubt, given the establishment of their decree despite their not exactly noteworthy contribution. But the Xanthians were not the ones who brought the kinship arguments forward. Kytenion is the sole known example of a Greek city approaching a city in Asia Minor on kinship grounds. This is all the more interesting, since it gives us a chance to compare the narrative of the Kytenians with that of the Magnesians.

To begin with, their line of argumentation is more complex and sophisticated. The account put forward by the Kytenians was structured on three levels: the *syngeneia* derived from the gods, the *syngeneia* derived from ancestors, and the *syngeneia* derived from heroes.[73] One line of descent pro-

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72 Trans. Jones 1999, 61–62, slightly modified; ll. 14–33: παρακαλοῦσιν ἡμᾶς ἀναμνησθέντας τῆς πρὸς | αὐτοὺς ὑπαρχούσης συγγενείας ἀπό τε τῶν θεῶν καὶ | τῶν ἡρώων μὴ περιιδεῖν κατεσκαμμένα τῆς πατρίδος | αὐτῶν τὰ τείχη· Λητοῦν γάρ, τὴν τῆς πόλεως ἀρχηγέτιν | τῆς ἡμετέρας, γεννῆσαι Ἄρτεμίν τε καὶ Ἀπόλλωνα πα|ρ' ἡμεῖν · Ἀπόλλωνος δὲ καὶ Κορωνίδος τῆς Φλεγύου τοῦ ἀπὸ | Δώρου γενέσθαι ἐν τῆι Δωρίδι Ἀσκληπιόν · | τῆς δὲ συγγενείας ὑπαρχούσης αὐτοῖς πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τῶν θεῶν τού|των, προσαπελογίζοντο καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν ἡρώων συμπλοκὴν | τοῦ γένους ὑπάρχουσαν αὐτοῖς, ἀπό τε Αἰόλου καὶ Δώρου | τὴν γενεαλογίαν συνιστάμενοι, ἔτι τε παρεδείκνυον | τῶν ἀποικισθέντων ἐκ τῆς ἡμετέρας ὑπὸ Χρυσάορος τοῦ | Γλαύκου τοῦ Ἱππολόχου πρόνοιαν πεποιημένον Ἀλήτην, ὄντα | τῶν Ἡρακλειδῶν· ὁρμηθέντα γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς Δωρίδος βοη|θῆσαι πολεμουμένοις καὶ τὸν περιεστηκότα κίνδυνον | λύσαντα συνοικῆσαι τὴν Ἄορος τοῦ Χρυσάορος θυγατέ|ρα· καὶ δι' ἄλλων δὲ πλειόνων παραδεικνύοντες τὴν ἐκ | παλαιῶν χρόνων συνωικειωμένην πρὸς ἡμᾶς εὔνοι|αν διὰ τὴν συγγένειαν, ἠξίουν μὴ περιιδεῖν τὴν μεγίσ|την πόλιν τῶν ἐν τῆι Μητροπόλει ἐξαλειφθεῖσαν, ἀλ|λὰ βοηθῆσαι εἰς τὸν τειχισμὸν καθ' ὅσον ἂν δυνατὸ[ν] | ἡμῖν ᾖι [...].

73 Cf. Patterson 2010a, 118–123 with the reconstruction of the mythical stemmata (fig. 6.2.–

vided the background against which all three connections were formed: that of Hellen and his sons Doros and Aiolos. According to the 'divine' connection, Doros was the ancestor of Koronis, mother of Asklepios and according to the 'ancestral' line, he was the brother of Aiolos, on which, in turn, the third genealogical link was based.

For the Kytenians, the Dorian heritage was clearly essential to their identity, but that was certainly neither new nor of relevance to the Xanthians. What was innovative was the way in which their own traditions were reshaped by complementary elements. Thus, Kytenion was not only the *omphalos* of the landscape of Doris and the Dorians, but also the birthplace of Asklepios. Thanks to a geographical shift from Thessaly to Doris, Koronis and Asklepios 'found' a new homeland and Kytenion the missing connection to Xanthos and its patron goddess.[74] The birth of Asklepios in Doris (not *expressis verbis* in Kytenion) must have been a local myth, which was now appropriated by the Kytenians and integrated into their pantheon.

The second narrative element addresses the good deeds of the Kytenians towards the Xanthians. It was the descendant of Herakles, the Dorian and Kytenian '*euergetes*' Aletes ('the wanderer'),[75] who came to the aid of the Xanthian colonists and married the granddaughter of the Lykian Chrysaor, the direct descendent of the Homeric hero Glaukos, who himself became a Xanthian by a kind of *isopoliteia*. Here the rudimentary genealogy provided for Aletes is opposed to the elaborate genealogical stemma granted to Aor's daughter, a diligence that can be assigned to the editorial work of the Xanthians.[76] But, the same diligence also reveals that this connection was new for the Xanthians and therefore much appreciated.

6.4). In addition to these genealogies, the Kytenians also presented the genealogy of the Ptolemies (*SEG* 38.1476, ll. 47–49, 109–110) for political reasons.

74 Patterson 2010a, 119 is certainly right to remark that at the time of the decree 'there were already a number of places that claimed to be Asclepius' birthplace, including Tricca in Thessaly and Epidaurus', but I believe that the originally Thessalian Koronis who gave birth in Doric Kytenion again underlines the connection between Doros and Aiolos.

75 The same pattern can be observed in the invitation of Miletos to Greek city-states on the occasion of their festival in honour of Apollo Didymaios (*Syll.*[3] 590.27–32: τοὺς δὲ αἱρεθέντας ἀφικομένους ἀπολογίσασθαι περὶ τῶν διὰ τοῦ μαντείου γεγονότων τοῖς βασιλεῦσι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἕλλησι καὶ περὶ τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου πεπραγμένων εἰς αὐτοὺς εὐεργεσιῶν). On the language of euergetism, see Ma 2000, 182–194, 235–242.

76 Indeed, like the answers to the Magnesians' appeal, the text reproduces, a selection of the arguments expounded by the Kytenians, which seemed at best impressive to the Xanthians, and, considered from the perspective of their own representation, valuable: cf. *SEG* 38.1476, ll. 22–24: προσαπελογίζοντο καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν ἡρώων συμπλοκὴν | τοῦ γένους ὑπάρχουσαν αὐτοῖς, ἀπό τε Αἰόλου καὶ Δώρου | τὴν γενεαλογίαν συνιστάμενοι; 30–32: καὶ δι' ἄλλων δὲ πλειόνων παραδεικνύοντες τὴν ἐκ | παλαιῶν χρόνων συνωικειωμένην πρὸς ἡμᾶς εὔνοι|αν διὰ τὴν συγγένειαν.

The 'good deeds' of the Kytenians took place in an obviously important period in the Xanthians' past, namely during a move towards colonisation under the leadership of Chrysaor. The text, however, does not offer further information on the activities undertaken by the colonists of Xanthos, and the aforementioned figures, especially Chrysaor, pose additional questions. Does the narrative allude to the colonisation movement on the part of Lykians in central Greece, as Bousquet has suggested?[77] What is the common base and what the innovative part of the story in which the hero Chrysaor, his unknown son Aor, and the Heraklid Aletes play?

Despite the confusion regarding these persons in literary and epigraphic sources, some key points emerge.[78] Chrysaor, who appears in myth as the offspring of Medusa and the progenitor of various monsters, can be identified with the (Lykian) mythical founders of Karian cities, such as Mylasa or Chrysaoris;[79] his name was associated with the Chrysaorian League in Karia and the cult of the homonymous Zeus.[80] Aor, son of Chrysaor, is an otherwise unknown mythical figure.[81] However, a tribe with the name Ἀορεῖς is

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77 Bousquet 1988, 34–39: 'Notre généalogie des ambassadeurs kyténiens repose donc sur des légendes vulgarisées, celle des princes lyciens descendant du Corinthien Sisyphe par Bellérophon, et celle des Doriens migrateurs, venus du Nord vers la vallée du Céphise' (p. 34); 'Le héros [*sc.* Aletes] qui a sauvé d'une attaque de pillards la caravane des Caro-Lyciens (nommons-les ainsi, car nous allons voir que Chrysaor représente la Chrysaorie carienne), est l'arrière-petit-neveu d'Hércalès' (p. 35); 'L'aventure des Caro-Lyciens émigrants vers la Grèce centrale n'est pas à prendre à la légère'. (p. 38 with n. 47); see also Patterson 2010a, 123; *contra* Hadjis 1997, 4, who argues for a colonisation movement by the Xanthians in Karia ('nous avons des témoignages sur l'intervention de Chrysaôr dans une région toute proche de la Lycie, immédiatement à l'Ouest: la Carie. Il est certain que la colonisation évoquée ligne 28, avec ses dangers et ses combats, le concerne').

78 On literary and epigraphical references, see Bousquet 1988, 34–39, Hadjis 1997, Patterson 2010a, 120–123.

79 Steph. Byz. s.v. Chrysaoris; Mylasa. On the genealogical stemma of Chrysaor, which includes Glaukos I, son of Sisyphos and great-grandfather of Chrysaor, and the Homeric Glaukos II, grandson of Glaukos I and father of Chrysaor, see Hadjis 1997, 5–6 (with the stemma on p. 3); cf. also Patterson 2010a, 121–122 (figs. 6.3. and 6.4.). Hadjis argues for an originally Lykian origin of Chrysaor ('Chrysaôr est en effet Lycien. Nous apprenons ici ce que les Anciens savaient, mais que nous ne savions plus: les colons qui créèrent les cités grecques de Carie venaient de Lycie', p. 5; but cf. Debord 2010), while Patterson, on the other hand, leaves the question open ('the heroic Chrysaor, already a home-grown figure in neighboring Caria, was probably adopted in Lycia from that direction or possibly had come from Lycia to Caria', p. 120). Cf. also Linant de Bellefonds 2011, 38–39.

80 Strabo 14.2.25; Paus. 5.21.10; *SEG* 28.75 = Rigsby 1996, no. 162; *OGIS* 234 = Rigsby 1996, no. 163 [decrees concerning the *asylia* of the city of Antiocheia of the Chrysaoreans (Alabanda), ca. 203 BCE]; on the *Chrysaoreis*, see now Gabrielsen 2011.

81 Bousquet 1988, 35: '*Aor*, l'Épée, est un nom inventé, tiré du nom de son père Chrysaor';

documented for Corinth—on a citizenship-awarding decree found on a lead tablet in Delos—as well as for its colony Kerkyra.[82] Admittedly, the surprisingly Greek, but especially Peloponnesian tradition of a Dorian Aor fits very well with Ἀλήτης, the legendary founder of Corinth and descendant of the Heraklids,[83] but not at all with the Xanthian context as stated in the inscription. It was the combined efforts of the Kytenians that for the first time brought together the Lykian/Karian Chrysaor and the Dorian/Corinthian Aor, 'shamelessly putting a spin' not only on Xanthos' local myth,[84] but also on their own traditions.

Though Jean Bousquet did not exaggerate by stating that the Kytenians 'n'ont pas de répondants, de lettre de noblesse dans le Cataloque des Vaisseaux de l'Iliade, car se sont des terriens qui n'ont pas vu sur la mer, qui n'ont pas de marine',[85] they did succeed in constructing a particular identity. Supplementing elements and transforming old ones, they managed to personalize, authenticate, and enhance the power of their narrative. The *Kyteniaka* consist of their mythological genealogy, even if presented in the abbreviated form of the Xanthian version, a sort of *historia sacra* recording their good deeds (*euergesiai*) towards non-Greek cities such as Xanthos. The new 'world' of the Kytenians extended from Thessaly and the Dorian Corinth to Dorian Asia Minor, but its centre still lay in Doris. This expansion, or what P. Herrmann has called the 'Einbeziehung der historischen Dimension in das Selbstverständnis und die Selbstdarstellung der Polis',[86] may be seen as the impact of the discourses on kinship on their local legends—discourses originally introduced by the communities of Asia Minor.

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but, cf. the text and below n. 82. However, the phonetic similarity between the two names may have provoked associations.

82 On the decree awarding citizenship to two Athenians, see *SEG* 30.990 (ca. 325–275 BCE); Corinth and Phleious have been proposed as possible candidates for the identification of the Doric city, but the appearance of the same tribe's name on lead tablets from Kerkyra (*SEG* 30.521–523 and 526, ca. 500 BCE) justifies the attribution of the decree, and thus the existence of the tribe *Aoreis* to Corinth, Kerkyra's mother-city; cf. Hadjis 1997, 6–8, and more recently Antonetti 2006, 67–68 with previous bibliography.

83 Paus. 2.4.3; see also Hadjis 1997, 9 with n. 19 with further literary references. Based on the scholion of Tzetzes, *ad Lyc.* 1388, who attributes the foundation of Knidos to Hippotas, father of Aletes (: ἡγήσατο δέ τῆς ἀποικίας τῆς εἰς Κνίδον Ἱππότης ὁ Ἀλήτης), Hadjis (p. 10) considers possible that 'qu'Alétès (suivant son père?) a pu s'installer à un moment de sa vie à Cnide, au cap Triopion, sur le littoral occidental de la Carie', and thus reconstructed an additional link between the Dorian Greek regions and those in Asia Minor through a 'wandering hero' (not unlikely Bellerophon).

84 Patterson 2010a, 123.

85 Bousquet 1988, 35.

86 Herrmann 1984, 115. See also Dillery 2005, 519–521.

Greek World(s) III: Shaping Common Narratives

In the global and unsettled Hellenistic world of the third century BCE, communities on the Greek mainland and in Asia Minor felt a need to come to terms with the new geopolitical situation and their respective roles in it, and to create connections for themselves through cultural appropriation. The examples of Magnesia on the Maeander and Kytenion serve as reminders that the creation of cultural meanings occurred through a discursive process that linked communities in different regions. According to this view, *syngeneia* acquires meaning primarily through the creative process of interaction, which continually revalidates and reinterprets its power.

Integral to the positioning of cities such as Magnesia or Kytenion in the Hellenistic worlds was a discursive connection between past and future. A presentation of a unanimously accepted historical version was decisive in the establishment of common ground since the border between the acceptance and rejection of a narrative was fluid and therefore unpredictable. For this reason, in their narratives the communities involved aimed to present coherent systems of connections between local and trans-local history not only through genealogical and/or mythical constructions, but also through evidence (oracles, decrees, and the writings of poets and historiographers).

As already observed by Simon Price, there are at least three different ways of situating 'a community in common narratives of the past': through founders, wandering figures, or particular events.[87] Indeed, all three strategies are manifest in epigraphic evidence. However, the 'bricolage' brought together by the Magnesians or the Kytenians, for example, went beyond these strategies. What was new was the dynamic display of local myths.[88] Although wandering figures and 'border-crossers' like Glaukos were still present, figures, formerly known only on a local level, such as Aletes, emerged as did itinerant groups like the Magnesians. Despite the Panhellenic background of local genealogies, the Aiolian or the Dorian *Urahnen* remain rather shadowy. On the other hand, the account of the Magnesians' 'Greek' origins becomes all the more powerful and persuasive thanks to their sojourns in Thessaly and Crete, their constant visits to Delphi, and their nostalgia for Pelion, their rich homeland. The relocation of the birthplace of Asklepios from Trikka to Kytenion may seem odd to 'us', but the claim did not go uncontested as Epidauros, for one, likewise claimed itself to be his

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87 Price 2005, 116; see also the discussions in Price 2008 and 2012; Jones 2010.

88 Cf. the discussions Chaniotis 1988a, 137.

birthplace. In any case, the connection between Kytenion and Asklepios was obviously within the logic of the myths, at least to the Xanthians.

Accordingly, one reason these strategies of connection worked was because the basic elements of the narrative system were flexible enough to be used in various improvised combinations to create new meaning. Nonetheless, we also need to take into consideration the limits of such creative connections. The constant need to adjust tradition within the mythical and genealogical framework of a community and in relation to the frameworks of other communities was at risk of failure. 'The need to express local pride in the context of dominant Panhellenic narratives, or simply against alternative or rival local histories', required specific knowledge and professional skills, which might in turn explain the phenomenon of the 'native local historian'.[89]

A *historiographos* was regarded as the person who both possessed the qualifications and embodied 'the link between intra-*polis* historiography and inter-*polis* networks'.[90] The emergence of this profession, first attested in inscriptions of the early third century BCE, was probably related to these new challenges raised by the intensified interactions between communities.[91] According to Angelos Chaniotis' analysis of Hellenistic epigraphy, the word *historia* occurs only in the plural, signifying the narrative of independent events rather than a continuous historical process, while the terminus technicus *historiographos* is used to characterize the specialist in a particular subject.[92] Next to general terms, such as *historiai, anagraphai* and *biblia*, now appear more specialized ones such as *epiphaneiai* (records of miracles), *epichorioi historiai* and *mythoi* (local chronicles and myths), *enkomia* (praises), and *ktiseis* (records of foundations).[93]

The *historiographoi* played a complex role; they collected material from the archives and combined it with oral traditions, thereby 'rewriting' or inventing local history, and, if necessary, even performing it in front of an audience.[94] In other words, they acted as creators, interpreters, and

89 Clarke 2008, 346.

90 Clarke 2008, 358.

91 On the local historiography in the epigraphy of Greek cities, see Boffo 1988; Chaniotis 1988a.

92 Chaniotis 1988a, 355–360.

93 Chaniotis 1988a, 360–362.

94 Chaniotis 1988a, 128–130, 1988b and 2009, 259–265; Rutherford 2009; on the activities of itinerant historians sent by their city to other cities for political purposes, see also Schepens 2001 and 2006.

mediators. The documents repeatedly attest to the importance of 'written proofs' (*apodeixeis*), but also to the significance of the persuasive performance of a *historiographos* to the legitimacy and success of a delegation.[95] It is precisely this complexity of the role of the historians as expressed in the honorary decrees,[96] but also in the *syngeneia*-documents.

Based on his analysis of the decrees accepting the Magnesians' requests, Joshua Sossin has recently shown that there was no single master decree from which the Magnesian ambassadors delivered their presentations, but rather multiple 'archetypes', which were prepared by 'a handful of individuals or committees'.[97] Furthermore, the variation in the decrees speaks 'not of international politics and intrigue, but of local legislative sensibility, from cautious acknowledgment of exactly what was requested and nothing more, to open acknowledgment of both explicit and implicit facets of the request, to slightly dismissive acceptance of "things" or "what they ask"'.[98]

Sossin's observations are consistent with the evidence of the contributions made by local historians to the conceptual framework that encompassed both the community's self-concept and its mediation within inter-*polis* relations. Moreover, the community's need to express adequately its place in the intertwined 'worlds' of *syngeneia* and *asylia* or in the 'world' of the newly introduced 'Panhellenic' festivals and *agōnes*[99] strengthened the new role of local or itinerant historians and the mutual dependency between them and the communities.[100] It was the mobility of these local his-

95 Clarke 2008, 355, who rightly emphasizes 'the utility of itinerant local historians in enhancing inter-*polis* relations, lending a sense of a commonly understood past and of shared conceptual frameworks'.

96 The epigraphic evidence in Chaniotis 1988a, 290–326, 365–382; discussions in Dillery 2005, 520–521 (referring to the honorary decree for Syriskos of Chersonesos [*IOSPE* I² 344 = Chaniotis 1988a, 300–301 (E7)]); Clarke 2008, 338–369; Chaniotis 2009; Rutherford 2009 (esp. on itinerant poetesses).

97 Sossin 2009, 386–397: 'If the wording of the acceptance decrees reflected, and echoed an aspect of the Magnesians' ambassadors presentations it surely mirrored their speeches, not the Magnesian decree' (p. 386) and 'the distribution of such [speeches] did not correspond precisely to the personnel or itineraries of the embassies' (p. 393); *contra* Chaniotis 1999 and Sumi 2004, 83, who refers to a master copy of a decree in which the Magnesians outlined their request as 'the presentation text'.

98 Sossin 2009, 395.

99 On problems connected with this term, see Robert 1984; Parker 2004, 11; Slater and Summa 2006, 281; For lists of the documented festivals in the Hellenistic period, see Chaniotis 1995, Musti 2002 and Parker 2004, 18–22; for a discussion of the new profile of agonistic culture, see van Bremen 2007 and van Nijf in this volume.

100 Cf. Clarke 2008, 369 who argues for the 'highly political role' of local historiography 'although the focus of its political role may have shifted from the contents of the narrative

torians, professional performers, and ambassadors as well as the circulation of texts of communal self-presentation in public lectures, performances or diplomatic missions that gave shape to a common, supra-local background ('the shared past') and an imagining of homogeneity.[101]

The 'rewriting' of traditions by local communities in Asia Minor that claimed common ancestry with Greek cities led to transformations in the representation and re-localization of their own past and that of Greek cities. I have applied the concept of the social imaginary to create an awareness of the transformative potential of interculturality. The social imaginaries of a given group shape the embodied ideas and practices of its members and are therefore permanently subject to changes in response to contacts with the outside world. Yet such changes not only have an impact on the construction of what a given group regards as the 'world', but also affect societies in contact with the group. The discussed case of *syngeneia* has highlighted the adaptation of a term on a local level, as well as its global dimensions. The epigraphic characterisation of many non-Greek communities as Greek *poleis*, with standard Greek institutions, a Greek political language and claims to Greek descent, is only one aspect of the problematics that we are accustomed to calling 'Hellenization'. The other aspect is perhaps more difficult to perceive, since it deals with the re-appropriation of modified Greek concepts by Greek communities. The decree of the Aitolian League in honour of the epic poetess Aristodama from Smyrna in Ionia, who 'made many displays of her own poems in which she commemorated the *ethnos* of the Aetolians and the ancestors of the people making her *apodeixis* with complete enthusiasm',[102] reveals that the Magnesians were certainly not the only ones to engage in the quest for origins.

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to the diplomatic use to which a more distant past could be put', and rejects 'the notion of partisan and parochial local historiography'.

[101] It may suffice to point out the consequences of the intriguing fact that itinerant historians wrote about the pasts of many different places; cf. Clarke 2008, 345–346; D'Alessio 2009, 167.

[102] *IG* IX 2, 62.3–7: ἐπειδὴ Ἀριστο[δ]άμα Ἀμύντα Ζμυρναία ἀπ' Ἰω[νίας] ποιήτρια ἐπ[έ]ω[μ] πα[ρα]γ[ε]νομ[έ]να ἐν τὰμ πόλιν πλείονας ἐ[πιδείξεις] ἐποιή[σ]ατο τῶν ἰδίωμ ποιημάτων, v ἐν οἷς περί τε τοῦ ἔθνεο[ς] τῶν Αἰτωλῶ[μ καὶ τ]ῶμ προγόνω[ν] τοῦ δάμου ἀξίως ἐπεμνάσθη, με[τὰ] πάσας προθυμ[ίας] τὰν ἀπόδεξιμ ποιουμένα. Trans. Rutherford 2009, 237.

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Legend to Fig. 12: The *syngeneia*-relations of Magnesia on the Maeander. Graphics, M. Kostoula.

1. Syracuse
2. Apollonia
3. Epidamnos
4. Kerkyra
5. Same
6. Ithaka
7. Leukas
8. Dodona
9. Kalydon
10. Thermos
11. Larisa
12. Gonnoi—Phalanna
13. Elatea
14. Delphi
15. Thebes
16. Athens
17. Corinth
18. Sikyon
19. Argos
20. Megalopolis
21. Messene
22. Elis
23. Chalkis
24. Eretria
25. Delos
26. Paros
27. Mytilene
28. Rhodes
29. Kos
30. Crete
31. Pergamon
32. Teos
33. Klazomenai
34. Knidos
35. Laodikeia on the Lykos
36. Antiocheia in Pisidia
37. Antiocheia in Persis
38. Susa
39. Alexandria

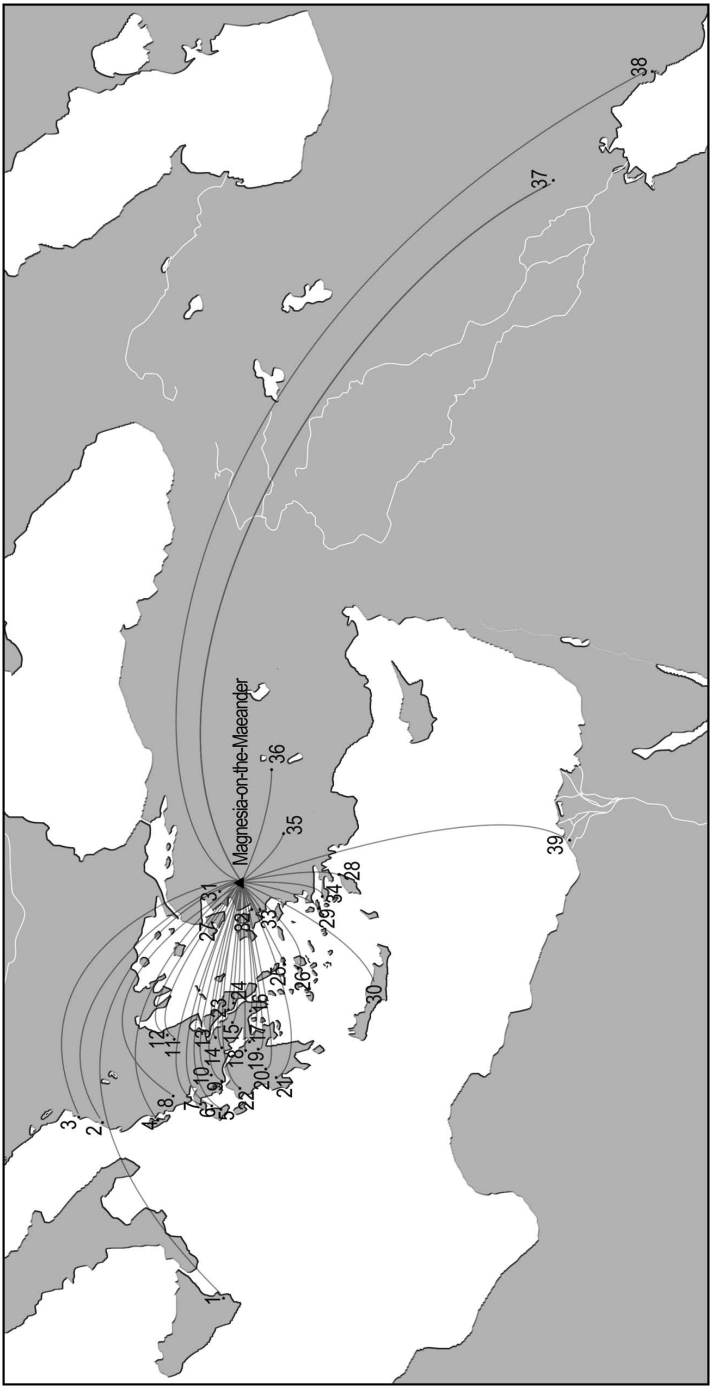

Fig. 12. The *syngeneia*-relations of Magnesia on the Maeander. Graphics M. Kostoula.

'JEWS AS THE BEST OF ALL GREEKS': CULTURAL COMPETITION IN THE LITERARY WORKS OF ALEXANDRIAN JUDAEANS OF THE HELLENISTIC PERIOD

Sylvie Honigman

> In his wisdom our lawgiver, in a comprehensive survey of each particular part, and being endowed by God for the knowledge of universal truths, fenced us about with unbroken palisades and iron walls to prevent our mixing with any of the other peoples in any matter, being thus kept pure in body and soul, preserved from false beliefs, and worshipping the only God omnipotent over all creation.[1]

In modern scholarship, this excerpt from the *Letter of Aristeas* (henceforth *Ar*) is thought to epitomise the fate of Judaeans living as minority groups around the Mediterranean basin in Hellenistic and Roman times. Indeed, when taken in isolation, it might even fit a certain modern representation of how these Judaean communities lived—secluded from their 'pagan' social environment to preserve their dietary laws and monotheistic belief.[2] However, when read in its original narrative context, its intended message appears to be quite different: the 'other peoples' the Judaeans have fenced themselves off from through their dietary laws, turn out to be Euhemerists and snake-worshippers[3]—precisely the sort of people all well-educated Greeks imbued with the conservative values of the standard *paideia* would have avoided. In other words the commandments of the Law the Judaeans observed with regard to whom they should or should not mingle with, ideally coincide—at least in *Ar*—with the social choices of all well-educated Greek Alexandrians.

To test whether this interpretation is the correct one, we must widen our inquiry to see if it is consistent with other passages from the same work,

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[1] *Ar* 139: συνθεωρήσας οὖν ἕκαστα σοφὸς ὢν ὁ νομοθέτης, ὑπὸ θεοῦ κατεσκευασμένος εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν τῶν ἁπάντων, περιέφραξεν ἡμᾶς ἀδιακόποις χάραξι καὶ σιδηροῖς τείχεσιν, ὅπως μηθενὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐθνῶν ἐπιμισγώμεθα κατὰ μηδέν, ἁγνοὶ καθεστῶτες κατὰ σῶμα καὶ κατὰ ψυχήν, ἀπολελυμένοι ματαίων δοξῶν, τὸν μόνον θεὸν καὶ δυνατὸν σεβόμενοι παρ' ὅλην τὴν πᾶσαν κτίσιν. When not otherwise mentioned the translations used follow Shutt 1985. Here slightly modified.

[2] See e.g. Barclay 1996, 437 and Gruen 1998, 216. For a more nuanced discussion, see Berthelot 2003, 200–201.

[3] See section 'Polemical Appropriation' below.

and similar texts from the same social circles. This is the aim of the present paper.

As a starting point, if we wish to find an emblematic statement of how the author of *Ar* himself imagined the social and cultural position of the Alexandrian Judaeans, the following excerpt, I would argue, is far more pertinent than the previous one:

> And so the seneschal Nikanor summoned Dorotheos, who was in charge of these matters, and ordered him to carry out the preparations in every particular. For such was the arrangement instituted by the king, which you may observe in use even now. For *as many states* [poleis] *as there are which employ special usage in drink and food and mode of reclining*, so many officials were assigned, and then *whenever guests visited the reigning king preparations were made according to their usages*, so that there should be nothing to discomfort them and they could pass the time in good cheer. This practice was followed in the case of these visitors.[4]

Although this description of Ptolemaic court etiquette clearly lacks all factual basis, it deserves attention for precisely that reason. If we take it as a statement of intent, rather than a fanciful description,[5] its message is

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[4] *Ar* 182: Ὁ δὲ ⟨ἀρχεδέατρος⟩ Νικάνωρ Δωρόθεον προσκαλεσάμενος, ὃς ⟨ἦν⟩ ἐπὶ τούτων ἀποτεταγμένος, ἐκέλευσε τὴν ἑτοιμασίαν εἰς ἕκαστον ἐπιτελεῖν. ἦν γὰρ οὕτω διατεταγμένον ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως, ἃ μὲν ἔτι καὶ νῦν ὁρᾷς· ὅσαι γὰρ πόλεις εἰσίν, ⟨αἳ τοῖς αὐτοῖς⟩ συγχρῶνται πρὸς τὰ ποτὰ καὶ βρωτὰ καὶ στρωμνάς, τοσοῦτοι καὶ προεστῶτες ἦσαν· καὶ κατὰ τοὺς ἐθισμοὺς οὕτως ἐσκευάζετο, ὅταν παραγένοιντο πρὸς τοὺς βασιλεῖς, ἵνα κατὰ μηθὲν δυσχεραίνοντες ἱλαρῶς διεξάγωσιν. Trans. Hadas 1973, modified; emphases added.

[5] By using the notion of statement, I imply that the mode of reception of the text by its original audience is distinct from that involved in fiction. In a recent paper, Richard Hunter (2011, 55) has pointed out that the author of *Ar* makes use of Thukydidean vocabulary and ideals. This observation may be taken further. As is well known, Thukydides plays on two levels of truth: one factual and anecdotic, and the other—which Thukydides sees as his task as a historian to disclose—about the real essence of things. The latter, of course, is the only one really worth telling about. To quote Moles' translation of Thukydides 1.22.1: 'But as it seemed to me, keeping as closely to the general drift of what truly was said, that each speaker would most say what was necessary concerning the always present things, so I have rendered the speeches' (Moles 1993, 103, with his commentary p. 104). Although Thukydides explicitly refers to this deeper level of reality in conjunction with his speeches (*logoi*), his widely-noted tendency to dwell at length on episodes he identifies as archetypal, and provide only a synopsis of others, which he regarded as less typical, suggests that his distinction between anecdotic and essential truths affected his account of *erga*, as well. It has been argued that Plato's account of the war between ancient Athens and Atlantis in the *Timaios* and the *Kritias* presupposes a similar conception of an essential truth (see Johansen 1998; 2004, 24–47). Even if we accept that the Alexandrian Judaean audience of *Ar* was aware that the account in the work was not absolutely true at the factual, anecdotic level—for instance, that the court etiquette was not exactly as described in the text, and that the Septuagint was not exactly deposited in the royal library—*Ar* was accepted as essentially 'true' in the sense

that by fencing themselves off to remain pure, the Alexandrian Judaeans by no means set themselves apart. If they have their own customs (their *politeia*), it is only because this was true of every state (or *polis*): the Athenians, Cyrenaians, Boiotians, Thrakians, Tyrians, and all the other Greeks also had their dietary and other customs scrupulously catered to by the royal seneschals attending to the embassies at the Ptolemaic court. In other words, the Judaeans, like the Athenians and the Cyrenaians, could perfectly adhere to their *politeia* while still belonging to the imagined community of 'all the Greeks'.[6]

At first sight, this notion (or my interpretation of it) that Judaeans are Greeks may seem incongruous—all the more since, by translating *Ioudaioi* as 'Judaeans' and not 'Jews', I imply that this term, like the others of the same category (*Athenaioi, Thrakes*), retained its political/ethnic value both in the real society and in the literary works produced by Alexandrian Judaeans.[7] However, the group identity construction implicit in our second quotation—namely that Judaeans were Greeks—accurately reflects the social structures of Ptolemaic society. As the documentary papyri found in the *chora*[8] amply attest, the Judaeans, like all non-Egyptians who were not citizens of one of the three *poleis* of the country,[9] *were* Greeks.

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that it told how things should be at a deeper level of reality. On this issue of truth, plausibility and fiction, see further Honigman 2009 and now Hunter 2011, with further bibliography.

6 On this phrase, common in Hellenistic inscriptions, see e.g., Bringmann 1993.

7 On the controversy whether *Ioudaioi* outside Judaea should be translated as 'Judaeans' or 'Jews', see the dispute between Mason 2007—who advocated the former by arguing that the concept of *ethnos* preserved its cultural and cultic connotations well into Late Antiquity—and Schwartz 2007, who in response to Mason's paper reasserted the old claim that 'Judaean' has an exclusively geographical meaning, which means that outside Judaea *Ioudaioi* ought to be translated as 'Jews'. This controversy is marred by the scholars' failure to take into account chronological and geographical differences. The translation as 'Jew' may be correct in a society in which cultic affiliation has become a matter of free choice—that is, in which 'religion' has emerged as a distinct sphere of social activity (or to use an older terminology, a society characterised by an advanced stage of structural differentiation between politics and religion)—but this was not the case in Ptolemaic Alexandria. For the concept of structural differentiation as it applied to Late Republican and Early Imperial Rome, see Hopkins 1978, 74–96. For the progressive emergence of a freely chosen cultic behaviour in Italy between the second century BCE and the second century CE, see North 1979.

8 In Ptolemaic Egypt the *chôra* is the countryside, as opposed to Alexandria.

9 Soldiers, like citizens, appear to have formed a special category. However, although at least some of the Judaeans of Alexandria appear to have originated in a military settlement (a *politeuma*) this special case is not relevant to understanding the ethnic construction of *Ar*, and will therefore be disregarded here. On the *politeuma* of the Judaeans in Alexandria, see Honigman 2003b.

Admittedly, the way ethnic labels are used in the administrative documents of Ptolemaic Egypt is bewildering. The same individual may change his ethnic label in the course of his life, or bear several ones simultaneously, and discrepancies between the ethnic connotation of the proper name and the *ethnikon* of an individual are common. In an attempt to sidestep the theoretical issues raised by this (for us) disconcerting practice, modern scholars have coined the notion of 'fictive ethnic labels': the ethnic tags used in official documents allegedly reflect administrative purposes, which have nothing to do with the individuals' 'genuine' ethnic identity. To establish the latter—according to this approach—we must turn to private documents. However, this pseudo-concept of 'fictive ethnic labels' is predicated on two questionable premises. The first is that the Ptolemaic society maintained a clear distinction between the public and private spheres. This premise is typical of the legalistic conception of the state, and is best discarded: in a state culture in which the administrative structures and the social groups are one and the same, we must accept that the legal and social uses of ethnicity are interdependent—that is, the administrative uses of the ethnic labels documented in the papyri both reflected and affected the way ethnic and social identities were constructed in Ptolemaic society. Second, it is predicated on an essentialist definition of ethnicity. If, instead, we accept that ethnicity is a social construct that is subject to changes over time and in response to diverging local environments,[10] Ptolemaic Egypt offers a remarkable example of the progressive emergence of a new local Greek identity.

This Ptolemaic branching out of Greek ethnicity was made possible by the latter's fundamental structure—which anthropologists refer to as 'nested ethnicity'. In its 'classical' model, ancient Greek ethnic identity was based on a three-tiered construction of individual *poleis*, regional networks (e.g., Ionians, Dorians, and Aiolians), and the overarching network of Greekness.[11] In Ptolemaic Egypt, this structure was reduced to two tiers, and the cri-

[10] For a constructivist definition of ethnicity, see Barth 1969.

[11] See the two seminal studies by Hall 1997 and 2002. However, the argument put forward here is not a mere endorsement of Hall's conception of Greek ethnicity, which retains hints of essentialism. Whereas Hall points out that the boundaries between the sub-ethnic (e.g., Dorian, Ionian, and Aiolian) groups were fluid, he implicitly perceived the delineation of the overarching level, that of 'Hellenicity', as being stable. Although the boundaries of Greek ethnicity may have remained stable in the Classical period, at a time when the geographical expansion of the Greek populations was hampered both eastward by the Persian empire and westward by the western Phoenicians, the renewed dynamism of commercial exchanges and population mobility from the fourth century onwards was accompanied by the renewed fluidity of populations across the ethnic boundaries of Greekness. Hall unfortunately avoids

teria for ascription changed: the basic common denominator shared by the numerous local ethnic identities subsumed under the overarching definition of 'Greekness' appears to have been their foreignness.[12] In other words, virtually anyone claiming a non-Egyptian descent—and not only those from Greek *poleis*—qualified as a Greek in Egypt. At the same time, the various communities within this broader category of Greeks were able to emphasise their association with a specific homeland through their ethnic labels—what the Ptolemaic administrative nomenclature called their *patria*, and modern scholarship refers to as their *ethnika*: *Kyrenaioi*, *Tyrioi*, *Boiotioi*, *Kretes*, *Thrakes*, *Ioudaioi*, and so on.[13] This list of examples may seem irregular to modern minds, which are accustomed to distinguishing between civic, regional and ethnic identities which here are lumped together, but, as recent studies have shown, we should remember that the ancient Greeks themselves used the term *polis* to describe any state—including the Persian Empire.[14] In *Ar*, Judaea is indeed described as an ideal *polis*. Consequently the author's equation between the Judaeans and other *poleis* in his description of the Ptolemaic court etiquette quoted above (*Ar* 182)—which expressly inserts the Judaeans within the two-tiered construction of Greek ethnic identity peculiar to the Ptolemaic society—makes sense in the latter's context. Needless to say, in this social context of Ptolemaic Egypt, the *ethnikon Ioudaioi* had an ethnic connotation, much like the others, and therefore must be translated as 'Judaeans', rather than 'Jews'.

In summary: the usual approach of modern scholars is, on the one hand, to dismiss the peculiar construction of ethnicity documented in the Ptolemaic administrative papyri as fictive, while, on the other, taking for granted that the Judaeans (or rather, according to this view, the 'Jews') formed a category of their own, 'fencing themselves off' from their so-called pagan environment. In this paper my premise is the opposite: insofar as the ethnic labels used in the Ptolemaic administrative papyri corresponded to genuine social categories and document a peculiar two-tiered construction of

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this issue by reviving the outdated view that the definition of Greek identity became cultural in Hellenistic times. See Hall 2002, 172–228.

12 This observation is inspired by Bagnall 1997, who surveys several towns and villages in the late Ptolemaic and early Roman times.

13 For the formation of these *ethnika*, see the pioneering study by Bickerman 1927; an exhaustive catalogue is provided by La'da 2002. The Ptolemaic administrative papyri show that the royal officials made no difference between *patria* referring to *poleis*, and those referring to other kinds of socio-political formations, such as Greek *koina* and names of non-Greek peoples.

14 See in particular Vlassopoulos 2007.

Greek ethnicity, there is no reason to doubt that the *Ioudaioi* settled in Alexandria, and in Egypt as a whole, in Ptolemaic times were defined by the royal administration as a sub-group within the immigrant community of the Greeks. Moreover, I take for granted that the Judaeans themselves endorsed this two-tiered construction of ethnicity and perceived themselves as a sub-category of the Greeks. This self-perception is the backdrop implicit in the aforementioned *Ar* 182 passage—and precisely the reason why I propose that this citation be seen as emblematic of how the Alexandrian Judaean elite depicted its own situation within its social environment.

Accepting this revised understanding of how the Judaeans of Alexandria and Egypt constructed their ethnic and social identity within their local environment has immediate implications for how their literary works must be read. The Alexandrian Judaean authors naturally used their works to explore their social position within their surrounding society, and the strategies of identity displayed in their works constitute possibly the most intensely studied topic in these works in modern research. The conceptual categories by which they have been analysed by modern scholars have clearly changed over time: the old structuralist dichotomy of 'assimilation' vs. 'resistance' has long since given way to various analytical tools aimed at understanding the inter- or transcultural encounters depicted in them in more flexible ways. Lastly, this topic—in fact the identity strategies of all Judaean communities living as minority groups in the Hellenistic and Roman societies around the Mediterranean—has been explored using the concept of cultural hybridity.[15]

In contrast to the paired concepts of assimilation and resistance that assume that minority groups were outsiders within their respective host communities,[16] the notion of cultural hybridity goes a long way towards redefining them as insiders. However, it appears to be less appropriate when analysing the cultural strategy of a minority group that was defined—both by itself and by the surrounding society—as a sub-group within a nested construction of ethnic identity. To be more precise, although the concept of cultural hybridity may describe the process of cultural adaptation undergone by these Judaean minority groups from the standpoint of educated outsiders (namely, modern scholars), it cannot adequately capture their subjec-

[15] Rajak 2009; Barclay 1996, and the papers collected in Barclay 2004.

[16] The same may be said about the notion of 'apologetics', which has curiously outlived several methodological revisions. See e.g., the papers collected in Edwards, Goodman and Price 1999.

tive perspective—that is to say, their social imaginary. Therefore, alternative analytical tools must be explored. In this paper I will put forward several concepts that, as I shall contend, offer a potentially high heuristic value in analysing the social imaginary of Alexandrian Judaean authors of Ptolemaic times, as reflected in their literary works.

The first concept—'cultural competition'—was recently proposed by Karl Galinsky as an alternative to the traditional pair of 'assimilation' and 'opposition'. The second—'appropriation'—proves to be particularly useful in understanding how polemical arguments stemming from the controversies between Greek philosophical schools were both *appropriated* and subverted by Alexandrian Judaean authors, in order to portray their criticism of certain Greek values as a quarrel between rival philosophical schools—that is, between insiders. Finally, I will use the concept of 'mimetic behaviour'—a looser form of appropriation—to describe what I see as the cultural project of the author of *Ar*. As I will contend, the author was *imitating* the cultural project originally designed by Kallimachos and Theokritos. It has been argued that, through their bold generic and topical innovations, those leading Alexandrian poets had aimed at inserting their contemporary Alexandrian experience into the chain of the Greek literary tradition, thereby turning Alexandria into the 'New Athens'. By consciously imitating this project, I will propose that the author of *Ar* was attempting to give Alexandria a dual, Athenian and Jerusalemite, genealogy.

Because *Ar* is by far the best preserved literary work of the Alexandrian Judaean corpus of Hellenistic times, most of my examples will be drawn from this work. This obviously raises the question as to how much this work is truly representative of the corpus as a whole, and beyond that, to which extent its author's identity strategy was shared by his larger social group of educated elite of Alexandrian Judaeans. To support my intuition that it *is* representative, I shall insert references, however brief, to other works wherever possible.[17]

Positive Competition: The Nomos *of the Judaeans as the Best* Nomos

Examining afresh in two recent papers how Paul and the early Jesus communities engaged with their Roman environment, Karl Galinsky dismissed the view that their attitude could simply be described as 'anti-imperial'. One

17 On *Ar*, see Honigman 2003a; Rajak 2009, 24–63; Niehoff 2011, 19–37; Hunter 2011.

aspect of Paul's, Matthew's and John's engagement was their 'appropriation of concepts and phrases [...] from the system of Roman rule for constructing the community of the Jesus followers'.[18] The appropriation by one author of topics and generic features used by his predecessor(s) for the sake of competition is now recognised as a basic feature of Greek and Roman literature. In essence it was the literary expression of the competitive stance which was a major value of the Greek and Roman elite societies.[19] However, as Galinsky suggests, this form of intertextuality, especially the appropriation of concepts and phrases, was used in texts aimed at a wider audience. Augustus himself reused pre-existing phrases in his *Res Gestae*. Therefore when the early Jesus followers imitated this form of cultural response they can hardly have intended it as an overt manifestation of opposition. As Galinsky notes, 'it is juxtaposition rather than opposition, but there is an element of competition as well': the appropriating author inserts himself in a tradition while at the same time presenting himself as the best at it.[20] Rather than being 'anti-imperial', 'the [message of the Gospels] can be defined better in terms of "surpassing" or "superiority": the emperor and the dispensations of empire go only so far. They are surpassed, in a far more perfect way, by God and the kingdom of Heaven'.[21]

The notion of appropriating social, cultural and religious values for the sake of competition is ideally suited to describing how the Alexandrian Judaean authors engaged with their Alexandrian environment. Adopting a competitive stance must have been a natural attitude for all those trained in the Greek *paideia*. At the same time competition implies a common ground: for Judaean authors, articulating their criticism of Greek values in the competitive mode was an ideal literary device, since it allowed them to engage in polemics from the standpoint of insiders.

Examples illustrating this strategy are numerous: the claim to priority, i.e., that the Judaeans—and not the Athenians or the Spartans—were the real inventors of ideas that the Greeks merely borrowed from them,[22] may be seen as one form of cultural competition. *Ar* offers particularly elaborated

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18 Galinsky 2011a. This paper is quoted according to its pre-publication draft, which I thank the author for making available to me.

19 Marincola 1999; Pelling 1999.

20 Galinsky 2011a.

21 Galinsky 2011b. This paper is quoted according to the pre-publication draft. See n. 18.

22 For a detailed study of this feature see Gruen 1998, 246–291. Admittedly some Alexandrian Judaean authors construct their claim to priority by opposing 'Greeks' and 'Judaeans' en bloc. This is not the case, however, with the author of *Ar*.

instances, which may be classified in at least two sub-types: what may be called *positive* competition, and a polemical variant. A clear example of positive competition is the description of Jerusalem and Judaea (*Ar* 83–120), which within the genre of utopian geography depicts the *politeia* of the Judaeans as the ideal—the best—*politeia*.[23] Whereas this section exploits a conventional topic—utopian geography seems to have been a popular genre in Hellenistic times—two other passages offer a far bolder attempt to define Judaean values as the best embodiment of Greek values. One relates to the Judaean belief in one God and the second presents the *nomos* of the Judaeans as the ideal Greek *nomos*. Let us dwell on these two examples in turn.[24]

Heis *vs.* Monos*: From the One Philosophical Deity to the Unique Deity of the Judaeans*

Various adjectives are used in *Ar* to qualify the Law (*nomos*, *nomothesia*) of the Judaeans: *theios* (*Ar* 3, 31 and 315), *hagios* (45), *semnos* (5, 313), *hagnos* and *semnos* (31), to whom the adverbs *hagnōs* and *hosiōs* (in 317 and 306, 310, respectively) may be added. Although these terms primarily belong to the field of ritual practice,[25] the way they are contextualised in the text systematically shifts them to the realm of Greek philosophical speculations about the divine. This is where the author definitely situates the *nomos* of the Judaeans—as though he took up in earnest the claim made by Greek authors before him that the Judaeans were a philosophical people.[26] His claim that the Law of the Judaeans is in essence philosophical is best epitomized in the following description ascribed in the text to Demetrios, the head of the royal library, in which the Judaean set of beliefs is consistently referred to in philosophical terms:

> These [*sc.* books] also must be in your library in an accurate version, because this legislation, as could be expected from its divine nature, *is very philosophical and genuine*. Therefore […] because *its doctrine* is pure and hallow, as Hekataios of Abdera says.[27]

[23] See Honigman 2004.
[24] I intend to tackle this double topic in more detail elsewhere.
[25] For the meaning of these terms in a religious context, see Rhudhardt 1992, 21–44.
[26] Stern 1974, nos. 4 (Theophrastos), 14 (Megasthenes), and 15 (Klearchos of Soloi).
[27] *Ar* 31: δέον δέ ἐστι καὶ ταῦθ᾽ ὑπάρχειν παρά σοι διηκριβωμένα, διὰ τὰ καὶ φιλοσαφωτέραν εἶναι καὶ ἀκέραιον τήν νομοθεσίαν ταύτην, ὡς ἄν οὖσαν θείαν. διὸ […] διὰ τὸ ἁγνήν τινα καὶ σεμνὴν εἶναι τὴν ἐν αὐτοῖς θεωρίαν, ὥς φησιν Ἑκαταῖος ὁ Ἀβδηρίτης.

The shift from the cultic to the philosophical realm is made explicit by the fact that the adjectives *hagnos* and *semnos*, which belong to the former, are made to qualify *theōria*, a word belonging to the technical terminology of philosophy. To drive the point home even more explicitly, the *nomothesia* of the Judaeans is described as 'philosophical', this intrinsic quality deriving precisely from its being 'divine'. The implications of the Law of the Judaeans being defined in philosophical terms are fully realised in the section of *Ar* known as 'the Apology of the Law' by Eleazar, the high priest of Jerusalem (*Ar* 129–171). This section is divided in two parts, each one delineated by a ring composition. The topic of the first (*Ar* 129–143) is that the Judaeans are the wisest people, because they revere a unique God. The proposition that God is unique opens the sub-section:

> He [*sc*. Eleazar] began first of all by demonstrating that God is unique (μόνος ὁ θεός ἐστι), that his power is shown in everything, every place being filled with his sovereignty [...].[28]

This statement about God might be read as a purely intra-Judaean reference to the basic theological tenet of the Septuagint. However, in the Alexandrian environment, it is at least equally plausible that it was intended as a competitive echo to the concept of the one deity (εἷς θεός) superior to all gods and men which had been common to the various Greek philosophical schools ever since Xenophanes of Kolophon,[29] although later schools modified Xenophanes' phrasing to speak of *one* ultimate *cause*, or *principle* (τὸ ἕν). In response to this philosophical concept of the *one*, our author states that by positing that the supreme deity is unique (*monos*), and not one, the Law of the Judaeans goes further than all the Greek philosophical schools—or rather, than all the *other* Greek philosophical schools.

Incidentally only persons *already* convinced that believing in a unique God and abiding by his Law were positive attitudes were likely to be sensitive to this sort of argument. *Ar* displays a strategy of identity that is concerned with self-definition and not 'propaganda'. The inner analysis of the text supports the conclusion that the audience of *Ar* was primarily, if not exclusively composed of *paideia*-educated Judaeans living in Alexandria.[30]

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[28] *Ar* 131. Trans. Shutt 1985, modified.

[29] Xenophanes of Kolophon, fr. 23, *ap*. Clem. Al. *Strom*. 5.109.1: 'One god, greatest among gods and men, in no way similar to mortals either in body or in thought' (εἷς θεός, ἔν τε θεοῖσι καὶ ἀνθρώποισι μέγιστος, οὔτι δέμας θνητοῖσιν ὁμοίιος οὐδὲ νόημα), trans. Kirk et al. 1983, 169, no. 170.

[30] On the issue of the audience of *Ar*, see the historiographical survey and discussion in Berthelot 2003, 202–203.

The Law of Moses as the Best Greek Nomos

Like the first, the second part of the Apology (*Ar* 143–171) is set in competitive terms. Its subject matter addresses an apparent paradox: insofar as the creation is unified, how can there be different statuses among the creatures, some being pure and others impure? The purpose of the discussion is to demonstrate that despite deceptive appearances, the Law (*nomos*) of the Judaeans is true to nature (*physis*):

> In general everything is similarly constituted in regard to natural reasoning, being governed by one supreme power, and in each particular everything has a profound reason (λόγος βαθύς) for it.[31]

The background of this discussion is obviously the opposition between *nomos* and *physis* which was the basic tenet of Greek philosophy. In a context in which *nomos* had long since become coterminous with social conventions, carrying along the connotation of arbitrariness, and *physis*, or natural law, was deemed to be superior to it, the very fact that the Judaeans distinguished themselves from the rest of men by their *nomos* could easily become a source of self-embarrassment, and potentially expose the Judaeans to the attacks of philosophically-minded outsiders. Their dietary laws, in particular, could be disparaged as arbitrary social conventions. Insofar as it was out of the question for Judaeans to denounce their own law, one way out of this self-trap was to prove that in the *nomos* of the Judaeans the realms of *nomos* and *physis* were reconciled, and not opposed. The equation between *nomos* and *physis* is articulated in a striking way in the closing sentence of the Apology:

> Indeed I consider that, on these matters, details of our way of life are worth narrating. Wherefore in view of your love of learning, I have been induced, Philokrates, to expound to you the solemnity and *natural discursive* thought of the Law.[32]

The paradox of a *nomos* which is true to *physis* is expressed by means of an oxymoron, τὴν […] φυσικὴν διάνοιαν τοῦ νόμου. The term *dianoia*, '*discursive* thought', which is common in Greek philosophy, is never associated with the adjective *physikos*, 'natural'. The author could apparently assume that this unusual conflation would not go unnoticed by the educated audience of *Ar*,

[31] *Ar* 143: τὸ γὰρ καθόλου πάντα πρὸς τὸν φυσικὸν λόγον ὅμοια καθέστηκεν, ὑπὸ μιᾶς δυνάμεως οἰκονομούμενα, καὶ καθ᾽ ἓν ἕκαστον ἔχει λόγον βαθύν.

[32] *Ar* 171: καὶ περὶ τούτων οὖν νομίζω τὰ τῆς ὁμιλίας ἄξια λόγου καθεστάναι διὸ τὴν σεμνότητα καὶ φυσικὴν διάνοιαν τοῦ νόμου προῆγμαι διασαφῆσαί σοι, Φιλόκρατες, δι᾽ ἣν ἔχεις φιλομάθειαν. Trans. Shutt 1985, modified. Emphasis added.

which was implicitly invited to draw the logical conclusion itself—although we have no means to know whether the oxymoron was an innovation of our author's or was a familiar *topos* already in educated Alexandrian Judaean circles, the former possibility cannot be excluded. Needless to say, a *nomos* that is true to *physis* is the best possible *nomos*.

In conclusion, the most idiosyncratic values of the Judaeans, namely their belief in a unique God and their dietary laws, are restated in such a way as to insert them within the Greek philosophical tradition with which the educated Alexandrian Judaeans were apparently well acquainted. Naturally the stance is competitive: how can newcomers best insert their own heritage within an originally alien tradition, if not by bidding for the top place?

Elsewhere the God of the Judaeans competed with other deities of Hellenistic Egypt who had claims to omnipotent and universal powers, like Zeus and Isis. The equation between Zeus and the God of the Judaeans in *Ar* 16[33] rests on an etymology of Zeus' name (*zēn*, to live) harking back to Plato, *Cra.* 396a–b, which seems to be well known in Hellenistic times (cf. Hekataios of Abdera *ap.* Diod. Sic. 1.12.2).[34] Among the Alexandrian Judaean authors a similar equation is found in Aristoboulos (fr. 4 *ap.* Eus. *PE* 13.12.6–7). However, this topic is well known and need not detain us. Other cases of appropriation involve more complex strategies, since their purpose is not positive competition, but polemics: polemical arguments originating in the quarrels between Greek philosophical schools are not only appropriated but are further reinterpreted in order to be put at the service of different cases.

[33] *Ar* 15–16: κατευθύνοντός σου τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ τεθεικότος αὐτοῖς θεοῦ τὸν νόμον, καθὼς περιείργασμαι. τὸν γὰρ πάντων ἐπόπτην καὶ κτίστην θεὸν οὗτοι σέβονται, ὃν καὶ πάντες, ἡμεῖς δέ, βασιλεῦ, προσονομάζοντες ἑτέρως Ζῆνα καὶ Δία· τοῦτο δ' οὐκ ἀνοικείως οἱ πρῶτοι διεσήμαναν, δἰ' ὃν ζωοποιοῦνται τὰ πάντα καὶ γίνεται, τοῦτον ἁπάντων ἡγεῖσθαί τε καὶ κυριεύειν ('The [same] god who appointed them their law prospers your kingdom, as I have been at pains to show. These people worship God the overseer and creator of all, whom all men worship including ourselves, O king, except that we have a different name. Their name for him is Zeus and *Dia*. These words of the ancient men are appropriate to express that the one by whom (*dia*) all live (*zōopoiountai*) and are created is the master and Lord of all', trans. Shutt 1985, modified).

[34] For Isis, cf. *Ar* 15–16 (see above) with the third hymn to Isis from the temple of Hermouthis, Middle Egypt, first century BCE (Bernand, *Inscr. métriques* 175 III, ll. 1–2, 7–11 = *SEG* 8.550): Ὑψίστων μεδέουσα θεῶν, Ἑρμοῦθι ἄνασσα, | Ἶσι ἁγνή, ἁγία, μεγάλη, μεγαλώνυμε Δηοῖ [...] | ὅσσοι δὲ ζώουσι μακάρτατοι, ἄνδρες ἄριστοι, | σκαπτροφόροι βασιλεῖς τε καὶ ὅσσοι ̣κοίρανοί̣ εἰσι,| οὗτοί σοι ἐπέχοντες ἀν⟨ά⟩σσουσ' ἄχρι τε γήρω[ς], | λαμπρὸν καὶ λιπαρὸν καταλείποντες πολὺν ὄ[λβον] | υἱάσι θ' υἱωνοῖσι καὶ ἀνδράσι τοῖσι μεταῦ[τις]. ('O Ruler of the highest Gods, Hermouthis, lady, | Isis, pure, most sacred, mighty, of might Name, Deo [...] | All who live lives of greatest bliss, the best of men: | sceptre-bearing kings and those who are rulers, | if they depend on You, rule until old age, | leaving shining and splendid wealth in abundance | to their sons, and sons' sons, and men who come after', trans. Vanderlip 1972).

Polemical Appropriation: Turning Polemics into an Internal Debate

Several examples are once again found in the Apology of the Law in *Ar*. First, a recurrent motive of the Apology is that the Law of the Judaeans sets them apart from the rest of men. To return to the section quoted in the introduction to this paper (*Ar* 139), who are the 'other peoples' from whom the Judaeans need to be separated by 'iron walls'? The identity of these men is explicitly defined in the preceding sections (*Ar* 134–138). If we include an additional comment appearing later in the text (*Ar* 152), three sorts of men altogether are censured. As we will see immediately there is no question that in all three cases the standpoint of the author is specifically Judaean, and could be shared by Judaeans alone. However, the author manages to present his criticism from the standpoint of a *Greek* insider by situating his attacks within the arena of the disputes between philosophical schools. To do so he appropriates arguments which were first articulated in the context of philosophical polemics. One category of criticised men either targets Egyptian zoolatry or, alternatively, alludes to the Egyptian influence on the Greek Alexandrian society (*Ar* 138), whereas the two others (*Ar* 134–137 and 152) unambiguously target genuinely Greek concepts. The last two in particular are worth a comment.

Greek Cultic Practices as Euhemerism

Who are the men from whom the Judaeans 'fence themselves off' (*Ar* 139)? First, they are those who hold 'foolish' beliefs about the gods. At first glance, the attack may be thought to target the belief in many gods *per se*. At closer examination, however, the beliefs censured are depicted in a deliberately ambiguous way, and as it ultimately turns out they are defined in a far more restricted way than was initially stated. The deliberately muddled description may further explain why the section is long:

> [134] He [*sc*. Eleazar, the high priest] proceeded to show that all the rest of mankind, except ourselves, believe that there are many gods, although men are much more powerful than the gods whom they vainly worship; [135] They make images of stone and wood, and declare that they are likenesses of those who have made some beneficial discovery for their living, and whom they worship, even though the insensibility of the images is close at hand to appreciate. [136] For if the existence of any god depended on the criterion of invention, it would be absolutely foolish, because in that case the inventors took some of the created things and gave an added demonstration of their usefulness without themselves being their creators. [137] Therefore it is profitless and useless to deify equals. And yet, even today, there are many of greater inventiveness and learning than the men of old, who nevertheless would be

> the first to worship them. Those who have invented these fabrications and myths are usually ranked to be the wisest of the Greeks.[35]

Eleazar's explanation starts with a denunciation of the belief in many gods (*Ar* 134), as well as anthropomorphic statues (*Ar* 135). However, in the second half of the section (*Ar* 136–137) the critique imperceptibly slides to deriding those who believe the gods to be men of less power than the fools who revere them. From Greek polytheism, the focus has shifted to the censure of Euhemerism.[36] By arbitrarily assimilating the belief in many gods to the latter, the author not only re-directs his attacks from the Greeks in general to a specific philosophical movement, but in so doing further redefines the philosophical (and social) boundaries between insiders and outsiders. The latter are the Euhemerists, that is, the supporters of a philosophical movement which, to judge by the extant evidence, was the object of fierce attacks by rival philosophical circles, and whose ideas must have remained marginal in the Greek society at large. In truth, the most virulent attacks against the Euhemerists are known to us from much later authors like Plutarch,[37] but there is no reason to doubt that their provocative views had elicited hostile reactions from the outset. Therefore it is a reasonable surmise that the argument put forward in *Ar* 136–137 was borrowed from a contemporary anti-Euhemerist Alexandrian philosophical treatise and transposed to a different context.

It is very doubtful that this transposition was likely to persuade anyone who did not beforehand share the belief of the Judaeans in one God. Moreover, if we ask ourselves to whom this twist, redefining the belief in many gods into the belief that gods once were men, could appeal, the most likely answer is educated Alexandrian Judaeans eager to define their own position in their Greek social environment. The section of *Ar* just analysed may be taken as evidence that the original audience targeted by the author was exclusively composed of them. The polemical statement is phrased in such a way as to reassure them that one could believe in one God *and* be part of the community of the Greeks. Criticising Euhemerism situated the Judaeans on the side of the consensus within the Alexandrian Greek society.

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35 *Ar* 134–137. Trans. Shutt 1985, modified.

36 'Invention' in *Ar*. 136 certainly alludes to the Euhemerist idea that arts and civilization were invented by kings of old who were deified after their death. For a representative sample of this theory, see Diod. Sic. 1.13–16.

37 See Plut. *Mor*. [*De Is. et Os.*] 359f–360b.

Male Homosexuality and Stoic Incest

The technique of the rhetorical twist is implemented a second time in *Ar* to censure an additional category of men from whom the Judaeans need to keep separate:

> The majority of other men defile themselves in their relationships, thereby committing a serious offense, and lands and whole cities take pride in it: they not only procure the males, they also defile mothers and daughters. We are quite separated from these practices'.[38]

This time the author proceeds by lumping together two topics: male homosexuality and incest with mothers and sisters.[39] As we know from several extant quotations, the Cynics and early Stoics indeed allowed incestuous sexual intercourse. In its original articulation, this act was restricted to the Sage alone and could exclusively take place in the most exceptional circumstances of all, in the aftermath of the great cosmic explosion. However, as the following quotation from Plutarch shows, their detractors had little care for this strict contextualisation, and retained only that the Cynics and early Stoics gave permission to immoral behaviour:

> In one of his books of *Exhortations*, [Chrysippos] says that sexual intercourse with mothers or daughters or sisters, eating certain food, and proceeding straight from childbed or deathbed to a temple have been discredited without reason.[40]

The reference to incest with mothers and sisters found in *Ar* 152 may be held as indirect evidence that attacks against Chrysippos' provocative stance were already a *topos* in the philosophical schools of Ptolemaic Alexandria. Simply, it is as an echo to a *topos* that the stigmatisation of incest makes more sense in this text. By lumping together incest and male homosexuality, the author reassured his audience of educated Judaeans that the condemnation of incest and homosexuality articulated in their *nomos* did not

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38 *Ar* 152: οἱ γὰρ πλείονες τῶν λοιπῶν ἀνθρώπων ἑαυτοὺς μολύνουσιν ἐπιμισγόμενοι, συντελοῦντες μεγάλην ἀδικίαν, καὶ χῶραι καὶ πόλεις ὅλαι σεμνύνονται ἐπὶ τούτοις. οὐ μόνον γὰρ ⟨προάγουσι⟩ τοὺς ἄρσενας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τεκούσας ἔτι δὲ θυγατέρας μολύνουσιν. ἡμεῖς δὲ ἀπὸ τούτων διεστάλμεθα.

39 Some commentators have read an allusion to the incestuous marriage between Ptolemaios II and his sister in this sentence. However, this interpretation is precluded by the fact that Ptolemaios II is portrayed in a favourable light throughout *Ar*, and an attack on his marriage makes little sense in this context. Moreover, this historicizing interpretation overlooks the reference to 'mothers' in the quotation.

40 *Ap*. Plut. *Mor*. [*On Stoic Self-Contradictions*] 1044f = *SVF* 3.753: καὶ μὴν ἐν τῷ τῶν Προτρεπτικῶν εἰπὼν ὅτι 'καὶ τὸ μητράσιν ἢ ἀδελφαῖς ἢ θυγατράσιν συγγενέσθαι καὶ τὸ φαγεῖν τι καὶ προελθεῖν ἀπὸ λεχοῦς ἢ θανάτου πρὸς ἱερὸν ἀλόγως διαβέβληται. See further *ap*. Diog. Laert. 7.188 = *SVF* 3.744.

set them apart from the community of the Greeks. One could be faithful to an ancestral heritage censuring male homosexuality and be an insider amidst Greeks. Needless to say, the argument was unlikely to convince a non-Judaean audience.

Artapanos, Abraham and Joseph as Inventors of Civilisation

Can we identify similar cases of polemical appropriation in other Alexandrian Judaean works? *Prima facie*, as it was noted above, claims to precedence are better described as positive competition than as polemical appropriation. However, the following excerpts from Artapanos seem to play on a complex set of intertextual layers and may not be devoid of a polemical note:

> He [*sc.* Artapanos] also says that Abraham came with his entire household into Egypt to Pharethothes, the king of the Egyptians, and taught him astrology.[41]
>
> He [*sc.* Joseph, the son of Jacob] became *dioiketes* of the entire country.[42] Prior to that time the Egyptians had farmed the land haphazardly because the countryside was not divided into allotments, and consequently the weak were treated unfairly by the strong. Joseph was the very first to subdivide the land, to indicate this with boundaries, to render much of the wasteland tillable, to assign some of the arable land to the priests. In addition, it was he who discovered measures, and he was greatly loved by the Egyptians because of these accomplishments.[43]

The topics selected by Artapanos, astrology, agriculture and measures, seem to trespass on Isis' and Osiris' preserves. Therefore it is not excluded that Artapanos exploited an earlier work proposing a Euhemerist rationalisation of Osiris myth—the first book of Diodoros echoes speculations of this sort (see e.g. 1.14.1). In this case, Artapanos' passage might be defined as a mixture of positive competition and appropriation for the sake of polemics, since some comments have a derogatory flavour. However, the polemical stance is admittedly much softer than in *Ar.*

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[41] Fr. 1 *ap.* Eus. *PE* 9.18.1: τοῦτον δέ φησι πανοικίᾳ ἐλθεῖν εἰς Αἴγυπτον πρὸς τὸν τῶν Αἰγυπτίων βασιλέα Φαρεθώθην καὶ τὴν ἀστρολογίαν αὐτὸν διδάξαι. Trans. Holladay 1983.

[42] In the Ptolemaic court the *dioiketes* was the highest-ranking economic official.

[43] Fr. 2 *ap.* Eus. *PE* 9.23.2–3: διοικητὴν τῆς ὅλης γενέσθαι χώρας. καὶ πρότερον ἀτάκτως τῶν Αἰγυπτίων γεωμορούντων, διὰ τὸ τὴν χώραν ἀδιαίρετον εἶναι καὶ τῶν ἐλασσόνων ὑπὸ τῶν κρεισσόνων ἀδικουμένων, τοῦτον πρῶτον τήν τε γῆν διελεῖν καὶ ὅροις διασημήνασθαι καὶ πολλὴν χερσευομένην γεωργήσιμον ἀποτελέσαι καί τινας τῶν ἀρουρῶν τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ἀποκληρῶσαι. τοῦτον δὲ καὶ μέτρα εὑρεῖν καὶ μεγάλως αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων διὰ ταῦτα ἀγαπηθῆναι. Trans. Holladay 1983.

Mimetic Project: The Cultural Project of the Alexandrian Poets

Analysis of further passages from *Ar* might possibly reveal additional rhetorical devices aimed at defining the social and cultural position of the educated Alexandrian Judaeans within their local environment. However, an exclusive pursuit of this line of enquiry might create the impression that the work as a whole is merely the sum of its parts. As a working hypothesis, we should allow that the author conceived his work as a coherent whole, and therefore it is relevant to ask whether he used it to promote a wider cultural agenda.

Due to its compositional structure of a narrative framework with four inserted set pieces, the work seems to meet two goals.[44] The primary one, coinciding with the main narrative topic, was to narrate the circumstances that led to the *literal* translation of the Law of the Judaeans (i.e., the *Pentateuch*) into Greek under Ptolemaios II Philadelphos. From a formal point of view, this provides the frame story (*Ar* 1–51a and 301–321). Judging by their topics, the four inserted sections present both the translated Law and the people who observed it in the competitive stance that we analysed earlier: 1) the *Ekphrasis*, or *Description of the Table of Offerings* that Ptolemaios sent to Eleazar the high priest as a present (*Ar* 51b–83a), which turns the table of offerings of the Jerusalem temple into a Ptolemaic royal monument;[45] 2) the *Politeia of Jerusalem and Judaea* (*Ar* 83b–120), which depicts the *polis* of the Judaeans as the ideal one; 3) the *Apology of the Law* (*Ar* 128–171), which, as we saw earlier, presents the *nomos* of the Judaeans as the best philosophical *nomos*, since it is true to *physis*; and 4) the *Symposion* (*Ar* 187–300), which presents the political tradition of the Judaeans as spelled out by the 72 translators as the supreme embodiment of Ptolemaic royal ideology.[46]

Although from a narrative point of view, these four sections are subordinate to the translation story, together they represent the greater part of the work, and as such, their function must be key. What was the purpose of inserting these set pieces—and, more crucially, what is the unifying principle behind this patchwork? After all, what gives the work its added value

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44 On the compositional structure of the work, see Honigman 2007, 147–148.

45 As students of the poetic genre of the *ekphrasis*, which was popular in Alexandria, have noted, the objects of the descriptions were royal monuments. See e.g., Frank 2000, 16–29.

46 While it has long been noted that the *Symposion* was influenced by the genre of treatises about kingship (*Peri basileias*), Hunter 2011, 54 has pointed out that the political content of the section more specifically echoed the Ptolemaic royal ideology.

appears to be the combination of all its parts: when the topics of the four sections and the frame story are considered together, they appear to rewrite the content of the Septuagint while adapting it to the literary tastes of contemporary Alexandria. Thus, the story of the translation of the Law that forms the frame story is a revision of the episode of the reception of the Law at Mount Sinai; the description of the temple table in the *Ekphrasis* may stand in for a description of the Temple as a whole, while the *Politeia* provides the description of the Land as well as showing how the Temple operates (*Ar* 92–99); finally, the *Apology* and the *Symposion* spell out the Law, in a rewording of *Leviticus*. In the following sections I will propose that not only did our author conceive *Ar* as a rewritten version of the Septuagint, but that the idea—or rather, the cultural impulse—to do so was inspired by the cultural project developed decades earlier by Kallimachos and Theokritos, the two leading Alexandrian poets of the early Ptolemaic era.[47]

Kallimachos and Theokritos had invented what may be called the aesthetic of contrast, which featured either a blending of distinct poetical forms in a single poem, or associating one genre and one topic in an innovative way.[48] Besides being a purely aesthetic statement, this technique conveyed a political and cultural message, as it proved a very effective means of creating a link between past and present. By either juxtaposing old and new forms (as in Theokritos' *Idyll* 22, *Dioskouroi*), or casting new content in old forms (as in Kallimachos' *Hymn to Delos*), their poetry was concerned with defining the place of present-day experiences within the Greek literary tradition.[49]

In the Ptolemaic capital, poetry set the tone. The influence of the poetry on *Ar* is pervasive: were there more Alexandrian prose works extant today, we might well have found that this was far from exceptional. At a simple level, this may be evident in the formal aspects of *Ar*: the *ekphrasis*, in particular, was primarily a poetic form,[50] and as I have argued elsewhere, the insertion of set pieces within a frame story as well as the blend of genres and topics that characterise *Ar* at the very least reflect the literary tastes of

47 This issue can be dealt with only briefly here. I hope to present my arguments in more detail elsewhere.

48 See Cairns 1972.

49 See Fantuzzi and Hunter 2004.

50 However, as far as form is concerned, the influence of poetry is restricted to the inner set pieces. The work as a whole belongs to the genre of Hellenistic historiography. See Honigman 2003a.

Ptolemaic Alexandria, and in all likelihood introduce to prose writing literary conventions that had been first experimented with in poetry.[51] However, the influence of the Alexandrian poets on the author of *Ar* may be apparent in a far more telling respect: by borrowing the literary techniques originally designed to create a link between past and present, our author was imitating their cultural project. To be more precise, by using these techniques to incorporate topics that were dear to Alexandrian Judaeans in the Greek tradition, he developed his own cultural project in imitation of theirs.

Greek Forms and Egyptian (and Judaean) Topics

In a pioneering study of Kallimachos' *Hymn to Delos*, Koenen showed how the poet incorporated motifs borrowed from traditional Egyptian myths of kingship into a work formally imitating a Homeric hymn.[52] Thus, in the prophecy at the core of the hymn heralding Ptolemaios' birth on the island of Kos (vv. 165–170), Kallimachos used terms echoing the traditional Pharaonic nomenclature of Egypt, to refer to the territory over which Ptolemaios was bound to rule, and at a later point (vv. 205–208) we learn that Apollo was born at the precise moment when the Inopos river of Delos was swollen by the Nile floods.

As Koenen pointed out, the references to Egyptian myths in Alexandrian poetry seem to be limited to topics that were familiar to the Greeks of the Ptolemaic capital. Typically, they are borrowed from Egyptian traditions related to royal ideology, especially myths of kingship. In the past few decades, the archaeological exploration of the submerged remains of Alexandria has revealed how extensively the cityscape of the Ptolemaic capital was marked by Egyptian architectural and sculptural influences. The monumental statues retrieved from the waters make it clear that the Ptolemies presented themselves as Pharaohs in Alexandria itself, and not only in the Egyptian countryside.[53] The Alexandrian poetry may be seen as the literary counterpart of this sculptural expression. While the city monuments and the statues of the Ptolemaic dynasty reflect the incorporation of Egyptian visual codes into the cityscape of a Greek city, by positioning Egyptian themes within Greek poetic forms Kallimachos found the means

51 Honigman 2003a, 17–25.

52 Koenen 1993, 81–84. Koenen's study of the incorporation of Egyptian themes into Alexandrian poetry was pursued by various scholars. See, in particular, Selden 1998 and Stephens 2003, especially 20–74.

53 Bagnall 2001; Stanwick 2002.

to write the new realities surrounding the royal cult in Alexandria into the Greek cultural tradition.

Kallimachos' experimentation prompts us to reassess the project that the author of *Ar* set himself. Inasmuch as he presented topics from the Judaean tradition in a Greek literary form, he certainly was original. However, if my assertion that he took both his inspiration and legitimacy from Kallimachos by moulding a non-Greek tradition within a Greek literary shape is accepted, his originality was limited to substituting Egyptian themes with Judaean ones.

Past and Present

By virtue of its more immediately perceptible cultural function, the formal structure of Theokritos' well-known poem *Thesmophoriazousai* (*Idyll* 15) may cast light on what our author set out to do by juxtaposing a frame story and inserted pieces within *Ar*. In it, the framing story depicts two Alexandrian ladies of Syrakousan origin in a domestic setting. The opening scene shows Gorgo visiting her friend Praxinoa at her home. Shortly after, the two friends set off to the royal palace for the Adonis festival organised by the queen. The poem closes with a reference to Gorgo's husband's supper, thereby bringing us back to the domestic setting of the opening. Within this framing we follow the two friends through the streets of Alexandria—which, we are told, have become much safer under Ptolemaios' rule—, pass close Ptolemaios' soldiers together with them, and listen as they admire the pictures set up by the queen for the festival, culminating in an inserted hymn chanted in honour of Aphrodite. Throughout the poem, the experiences of the two Alexandrian ladies are set in counterpoint to the initiatives of the king and the queen, and by juxtaposing these two registers, the poet is able to explore the proper relationship between the Ptolemaic dynasty and the ordinary citizens—one that was far from obvious in the Greek political tradition.

The technique of juxtaposition appears to meet a similar need in *Ar*, although the relationship that is explored appears to be that between the past (the Law brought from Jerusalem, as narrated in the frame story) and the present (the Law as experienced in daily life, as depicted in the inserted sections). As we noted earlier, the Alexandrian poets carved a place for their own contemporary world within the Greek continuum by breaking down the generic conventions enunciated by Plato and Aristotle. By juxtaposing the story of the translation of the Law and an exposition of the Law as it is experienced in contemporary life, the author of *Ar* created a similar continuum within the Judaean tradition.

Looking back from Alexandria to Athens … and Jerusalem

Establishing a continuum exclusively with Jerusalem would have cast the Alexandrian Judaeans as outsiders in a Greek environment—which, as we have seen, was precisely what our author wanted to avoid. His solution was to rework the cultural myth of Alexandria in such a way as to insert Jerusalem alongside Athens as the source of the Alexandrian cultural heritage, by means of a rewritten (and in our case, expanded) quotation (*Ar* 107–111). The core of the passage is Ps.-Aristotle's *Athenian Constitution* 16, which strictly speaking is rewritten in *Ar* 109–111. The first two chapters widen its scope:

> [107] There was good reason for the building of the city by its pioneers in *appropriate harmony* (συμμετρίᾳ καθηκούσῃ), and their plan was a wise one […] Continuous attention to husbandry and the care of the land is necessary, to ensure good yield as a result for the inhabitants. This is indeed what happens; farming is accompanied by abundant yield on all the aforesaid land. [108] In such of the cities as achieve *large size* and its accompanying prosperity, the result is abundance of population and neglect of the land, because everyone is bent on cultural delights and the whole population in its philosophy is inclined to pleasure. [109] This is what happened with *Alexandria, which excelled all cities in size and prosperity* (περὶ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ὑπερβάλλουσαν πάσας τῷ μεγέθει καὶ εὐδαιμονίᾳ τὰς πόλεις): Dwellers from the country migrated to that city and remained there, thus bringing agriculture into decline. [110] So the king, to prevent their settling, gave orders that their stay should not be longer than 20 days. To those also in charge of business matters he gave written instructions that, should it be necessary to summon anyone to attend, the matter should be dealt with in five days. [111] As an indication of the importance he attached to this, he appointed *chrematistai* and their staff by *nomes*, to prevent the farmers and chief men of the city engaging in business, thus diminishing the treasury, that is to say the profits of farming (πρὸ πολλοῦ δὲ ποιούμενος καὶ χρηματιστὰς καὶ τοὺς τούτων ὑπηρέτας ἐπέταξε κατὰ νομούς, ὅπως μὴ πορισμὸν λαμβάνοντες οἱ γεωργοὶ καὶ προστάται τῆς πόλεως ἐλαττῶσι τὰ ταμιεῖα, λέγω δὲ τὰ τῆς γεωργίας πρόσφορα).[54]

Whereas the original citation describes Peisistratos' judicial reform in sixth-century Athens, its rewritten version refers to Ptolemaios' own judicial reform. In the transition from one text to the other, the Athenian judges, the *dikastai*, become *chrematistai* who operate in *nomoi*—the Egyptian administrative districts—rather than in *demoi*, as in classical Athens. The narrator emphasises that the new judicial reform was aimed at keeping the peasants on their lands, thereby enhancing the king's revenues, just as the earlier

54 *Ar* 107–111.

reform had once increased the tyrant's income. Thus, the literary device of the rewritten quotation superimposes two judicial reforms, two time periods, and two places. In this way, Ptolemaios is compared with Peisistratos, whose time Aristotle describes as a Golden Age, and Alexandria becomes the new Athens.

That Athens encapsulates the past to which contemporary Alexandria is linked in this passage of *Ar* is, at first glance, unremarkable: the author appears merely to be adopting Alexandria's most basic invented tradition.[55] However, as we noted earlier, this rewritten quotation comes at the end of a larger section, in which Alexandria and Jerusalem are compared and the latter is found to be superior. In *Ar* 107, we are told that Jerusalem was of a moderate—i.e., ideal—size, and therefore the peasants worked the land properly. In contrast, being the largest city, as in the case of Alexandria, is not ideal, since it results in the peasants neglecting the countryside (*Ar* 108). Thus, our author is in effect creating a link between three cities, rather than two. The familiar tradition of Alexandria as a latterday Athens is expanded, with Jerusalem becoming a significant point of reference alongside Athens. At the same time, Athens becomes a point of reference for the Alexandrian Judaeans.

Quoting from Greek Texts ... and the Septuagint

To rewrite the Alexandrian heritage, it was not enough to compare Athens and Jerusalem side by side: after all, *Ar* is primarily concerned with the Septuagint. The *mise en abyme* device that is used to explore the relationship between the frame story (about the literal translation of the Law) and the inserted sections (offering a cultural translation of it) is exploited in another way by our author to define the Septuagint's literary status.

At one level (the most explicit one), this status is commented upon through a particular act: by ordering to have the original copy of the Septuagint deposited in the royal library, Ptolemaios himself is acknowledging that the Law of the Judaeans is a Greek literary work (since the royal collection only includes works belonging to the Greek literary tradition).[56] At

[55] On Alexandria as the 'New Athens' see most recently Hunter 2011, 52.

[56] As it is well known, the claim of *Ar* that the original copy of the Septuagint was deposited in the royal library was the source of speculations in modern scholarship about whether other non-Greek works were included in it. See e.g., Orth 2001. These speculations may be disregarded if we accept that the account of *Ar* is a statement, not a factual description.

another, more subtle level, the literary status of the Septuagint is enacted, as it were, in the text, through the construction of its intertextual environment: while all the references to the Judaean way of life in *Ar* are quotations from the Septuagint,[57] the remaining textual references in the work are drawn from the Greek literary tradition. Thus, not only do these mixed references insert Judaean *topics* within the Greek tradition (as in the rewritten quotation of *Ar* 107–111 just discussed), they also appear to insert the Septuagint as a *new literary source* in this tradition. Indeed, given the paramount importance of formal aspects in Greek—especially Alexandrian—literature, the use of quotations from Greek texts alongside the Septuagint may itself be seen as a statement.

Here, too, a reference to Alexandrian poetry helps to reiterate this point more clearly. Alexandrian poetry was learned poetry. Kallimachos' works, in particular, are packed with literary references. By inserting so many quotations in his poems, Kallimachos, who famously composed the library catalogue (the *pinakes*), was celebrating the royal book collection. Because the works quoted in his poems are the very works being gathered in the library, Kallimachos' poetry was predicated on the very institution of the library. The author of *Ar* would have us believe that the same applies to him too: all the works that he quotes, including the Septuagint,[58] resided in the royal library.

Conclusion

In conclusion, how may we assess our author's cultural project? From the viewpoint of modern outsiders, it might be described as hybridity. Polybios might have agreed: hailing as he did from the Peloponnese, he characterised the culture in Alexandria as 'mixed'.[59] However, the Ptolemaic administration saw things differently. In Alexandria and in Egypt, people who were not citizens of the *polis* were either Greeks or Egyptians. In Ptolemaic Egypt, there were only Greeks and Egyptians—no Hellenised Barbarians. We may therefore return to the quotation of *Ar* 182, which served as our starting point, to raise the issue of culture and ethnicity: as we have shown, the social imaginary of Alexandrian Judaeans was conditioned by this social reality—

57 See the footnotes to Pelletier's French translation of *Ar* (Pelletier 1962).

58 Of course I am not concerned with the historical value of this claim here—only with its literary reality. In *Ar*, the inclusion of the Septuagint in the royal library is presented as fact. See above, n. 5.

59 Polyb. 34.14 *ap*. Str. 17.1.12 (C797); cf. the discussion in A. Erskine in this volume.

and consequently they constructed their identity differently from the way Judaeans constructed their identity elsewhere.[60]

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POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS AND THE LYKIAN AND KARIAN LANGUAGE IN THE PROCESS OF HELLENIZATION BETWEEN THE ACHAEMENIDS AND THE EARLY DIADOCHI

Christian Marek

Nowhere else in the ancient world of the Mediterranean and the Near East can one find encounters and symbioses of different cultures as manifold as on the Anatolian peninsula. That applies to almost all periods of its history as far back as written records exist.[1]

Our concern is with two neighbouring regions in the southwest where ethnic groups speaking different languages settled close to each other for centuries.[2] Both were conquered by Cyrus the Great in the sixth century BCE, but in the fifth century Persian domination suffered a severe setback by the establishment of the Athenian League in the coastal region, while in the interior, especially of Lykia, local dynasts acted quite independently, some even offensively. However, after the peace of 387 BCE the strategic situation changed again in favour of the Great King. In the southwest a dynasty of local origin emerged that ruled as loyal satraps, first in their homeland Karia, and later, from about the middle of the century onwards, in Lykia too. After a succession of five brothers and sisters to the progenitor Hekatomnos, and a short-lived restoration of Ada the Elder who had been deposed by her brother Pixodaros, the dynasty disappeared when the Diadochi redistributed the satrapies at Babylon 323 BCE. The most prominent member of that dynasty is Maussollos, who moved his headquarters from the family's seat at Mylasa to the Greek city of Halikarnassos at the west coast.

In Asia Minor of the late Classical period, Karia and Lykia provide exceptional evidence for the study of transcultural encounters because only from here do we possess—in addition to Greek texts—a considerable number of documents written in epichoric languages, Karian and Lykian, both subdivided into different dialects. The inscriptions on coins, pottery, metal jars,

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1 Marek 2010; Swain 1996; Bowersock 1990; for an overview see now Steadman and McMahon 2011.

2 Benda-Weber 2005.

rock, stone sarcophagi, pillars and stelai use regionally different alphabets, the origins of which are debated.

Karian inscriptions amount to about 200, but only 50 of these were found in Karia. The tradition of epichoric writing commences slightly earlier in Karia than in Lykia: Since the second half of the seventh century votive inscriptions on objects and coin legends in Karian occur, among them the famous coins of Kaunos named the 'winged Karians' taking a prominent place in the history of the decipherment of Karian script. Even if the decipherment has proved to be successful after the discovery of the bilingual inscription in Kaunos (Fig. 13), lexicography as well as morphology and syntax remain but poorly understood.

If we trust Herodotos' perspective on the past, the relationship of the Karians to their neighbours in the west, the Ionian and Dorian Greeks, was hostile. The geographer Strabo points out that Homer applied the adjective *barbarophonoi* to denote the Karians (*Il.* 2.867–868), and he refers to the grammarian Apollodoros when claiming that the word 'barbarians' was first pejoratively used by the Ionians κατὰ τῶν Καρῶν.[3] However, when the Karians of the Archaic period are compared with the Greeks, they appear to be neither provincial nor backward. Being familiar with the art of alphabetic writing they were also renowned for their skills and qualities abroad. The oldest Karian inscriptions dated c. 700 BCE were found outside Karia, almost all in Egypt, engraved by Karians who had settled in the land of the Nile and served the Pharaohs as mercenaries, shipowners, translators and consultants.[4] Perhaps the oldest bilingual inscription in stone, from the last quarter of the sixth century BCE, is engraved into the statue base of a noble Karian in Athens, with the Greek sculptor's signature added underneath.[5] A considerable diaspora of Karians is attested by literary sources also in the world of the Persian Empire. Apart from other skills, particularly in diplomatic missions, their polyglotism proved to be highly esteemed.[6]

Not later than in the Archaic period Karians at home begin to engrave inscriptions in Greek. And by that time their own language, according to Philippos of Theangela writing τὰ Καρικά in the third century BCE, was full

3 Strabo 14.2.28.

4 Psammetichos had a Karian named *Pigres* as advisor: Polyaenus, *Strat.* 7.3.

5 *IG* I³ 1344; the Greek text of two lines: σε͂μα τόδε Τυρ[----] | Καρὸς τõ Σκύλ[ακος] is followed by one line of Karian: *śjas: san tur*, below the artist's signature in Greek: [Ἀ]ριστοκλε͂ς ἐπ[οίε͂]. Cf. Adiego 2007, 164 (no. G1).

6 Klinkott 2009, 149–162.

Fig. 13. Karian-Greek bilingual inscription from Kaunos. Photograph © Christian Marek.

of Greek loanwords (πλεῖστα Ἑλληνικὰ ὀνόματα καταμεμιγμένα).[7] There can be no doubt that from the fifth century BCE onwards a great number of communities in Karia were composed of a mixed Karian-Greek population, a picture being substantiated above all by the study of the onomastics.

Things in Lykia are different. First, Lykian is far better known than Karian; Lykian inscriptions, just as many as Karian but confined to Lykia at all times, turn up about a century and a half later than Karian ones. Most of them are coin legends and owner's inscriptions on tombs of the social elite; almost one-third was found in Limyra and its vicinity. Lykian dynasts like *Kuprlli* shortly before the middle of the fifth century or *Erbbina* about 400 BCE in the far west of their dominions—i.e., in the neighbourhood of the Karians—had coins minted with Karian legends. In Lykia, encounters with elements of Greek culture, language, architecture and art, most probably took place with Karia as intermediary.[8]

Our special attention is directed to the use of languages in the sphere of the political public in the interior of Karia, taking aside the few Greek cities at the coast such as Iasos, Halikarnassos or Knidos. Little is known about a political organisation of indigenous communities. In the period of Persian hegemony and the rule of dynasts and satraps we know of a Karian League as well as regional κοινά under the presidency of priests. Apart from the fortified hill-top residences of the local aristocracy, settlements may be characterized as villages. The transformation into a *polis*-system can be traced as early as the fourth century, a process particularly illuminated by results of recent archaeological and topographical surveys in the region.[9] From this period we also possess the oldest documentary evidence for political institutions. One might speculate that together with the adoption of the *polis*-system the communities, by receiving a corresponding adequate political vocabulary, almost inevitably expressed themselves in Greek. On the other hand, precisely in that early period of the transition of indigenous communities to *poleis* of the Greek type we encounter the rare examples of political documents in epichoric languages.

There is but a single example in Lykian: the trilingual inscription from the Letoon near Xanthos (Fig. 14). All other known political documents of Lykian communities are later than the fourth century and are exclusively written in Greek, the oldest being decrees of Telmessos, Araxa and Lissai,

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7 Strabo 14.2.28.

8 Tietz 2009, 163–172.

9 Kolb 2008.

which date to the early third century.[10] The trilingual inscription, to which we now turn in detail, exhibits a decree of the community of Xanthos in a Lykian, a Greek and an Aramaic version on three sides of a stone pillar. The arrangement does not indicate a priority of rank to either the Greek or Lykian version; the Aramaic one can be ignored in that respect, since it gives but a summary of the original being confirmed by the satrapal authority.

We do not discuss here the well-known problem of chronology:[11] Rule of the Hekatomnids over Lykia, however, must have been established not later than in the reign of Maussollos (377/376–353/352 BCE).[12] Our document apparently is not the original version of the decree of the Xanthians but a somewhat abbreviated dossier from the satrap's chancellery engraved on three sides of the pillar in the Letoon.[13] The procedure is, as Grzybek explained, analogous with what is attested elsewhere in the Achaemenid Empire (e.g., *Esth.* 1.21–22): the Great King had sent his edicts written in the script and language of the respective provinces receiving them, and exactly this practice was imitated by his satrap in Lykia.[14] I cannot subscribe to Grzybek's conclusion that any question as to which of the two languages, Lykian or Greek, was the original of the Xanthian decree is elusive.[15] As is generally accepted, a substantial part of the material clauses on the stone must be a word for word quotation from the original. We do not escape the challenge to determine whether passages from a Lykian decree were translated into Greek or vice versa.

The translator could have been a Karian, a Lykian or a Greek. His source, however, must be considered to have been the original document. One could theorize that the community had its political *acta* styled in Greek as soon as a written record was demanded, since Greek only or preferably provided exemplary language for documentation of that kind. But it is credible as well that the decree originally was styled in Lykian. Because of our limited

10 Telmessos: *SEG* 28.1224; Araxa: Maiuri 1925–1926, 313–315, no. 1 (= *SEG* 49.1076); Lissai: *TAM* II 158–159.

11 For discussion of the date of the trilingual inscription see Domingo Gygax 2001, 19–20 with n. 6.

12 Maussollos had struck coins in Xanthos: Kolb 2008, 158 with n. 595.

13 Gryzbek 1998, 229–238.

14 Cf. Frei 1996, 16–18 on the demotic papyrus attesting the codification of Egyptian law under Dareios I.

15 Ed. pr. Metzger et al. 1979, 42, who proposed that the Greek version is a translation from Lykian and that the 'rédacteur' of the Greek text had been a Lykian with imperfect knowledge of Greek.

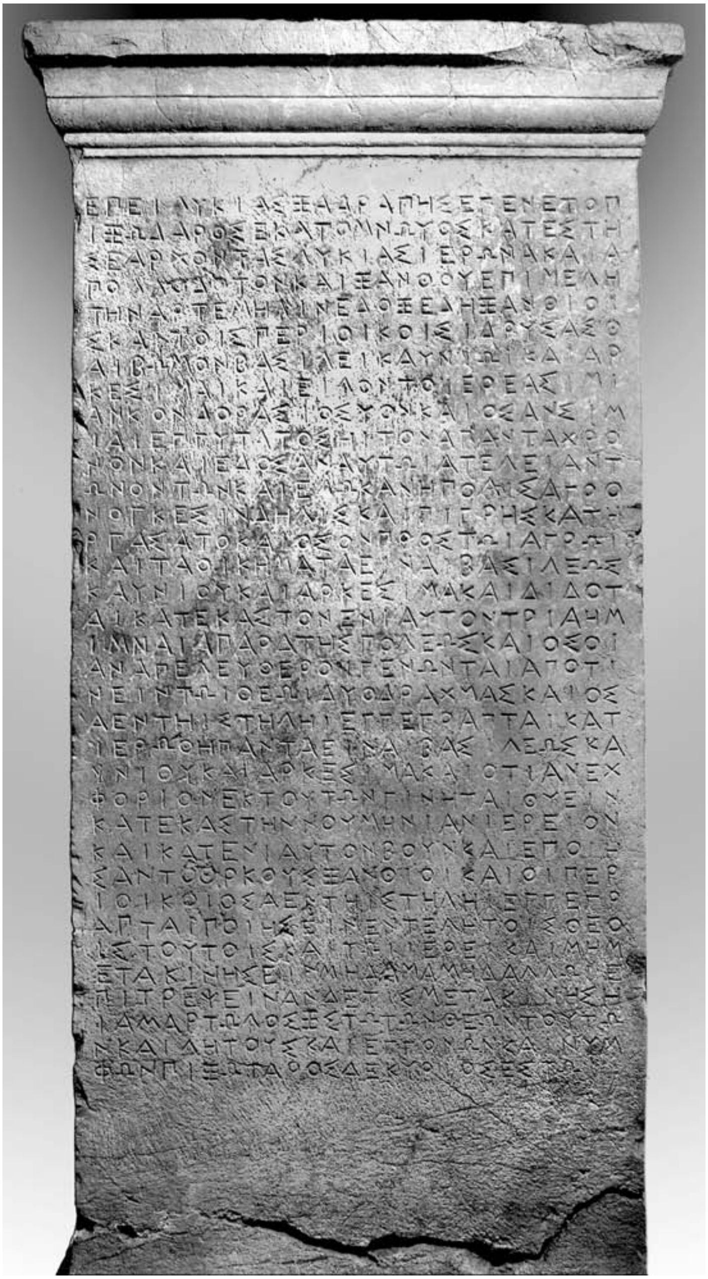

Fig. 14. Trilingual inscription from the Letoon, Xanthos. Photograph © Christian Marek.

knowledge of Lykian, any comparative analysis of the two versions on linguistic or stylistic grounds fails to produce a conclusive result. But some other details may be significant. I would like to direct attention to a group of terms well-known from Greek civic and royal documents.[16] With one single exception, none of these words appears to have been taken over into Lykian as a loanword from a foreign language, but in each case is paralleled by a Lykian term with an indeterminate etymology. We can distinguish two levels, the first comprising terms from the sphere of superordinate political power such as ξαδράπης, ἄρχοντες Λυκίας, ἐπιμελητής. The first term, ξαδράπης (Lykian *xssaϑrapazate*), is the exception mentioned in both Lykian and Greek, since the word derives from some Iranian dialect. The Greek words ἄρχοντες and ἐπιμελητής[17] are paralleled by Lykian *pddẽnehm̃mis* and *asaxlazu*. According to their Greek meaning they denote titles of royal functionaries resembling the τεταγμένος ἐπὶ or simply ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως, ἐπιστάτης and so on, which we read in the Hellenistic royal letters and civic decrees. Did the satrap's secretary conceive each of them in Greek before he found a periphrastic Lykian term—as is the opinion of Christian Le Roy[18]—or did he use Lykian *and* Greek periphrases of originally Karian or even Persian titles? This is as difficult to answer as judging the extent to which the term ἀτέλεια corresponds to *arawa* in Lykian, which Craig Melchert translates with 'freedom'.[19] *Ateleia* is a technical term for an official privilege granted by Greek political authorities, the remission of revenues. But that is too trivial a procedure that one should imagine the Lykians for their part lacking a term for it in their own language. It is therefore impossible to decide based upon the examples we have quoted which version has the original terminology and which a periphrasis or translation of it.

On the second level we are concerned with terms from the sphere of the political community. And there is one term that may be particularly helpful, περίοικοι: it occurs four times in the text, always being used in combination with 'the Xanthians' or 'the *polis*'.[20] For convenience of comparison I quote the text of both versions, Greek and Lykian:

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16 Cf. Le Roy 2005.
17 See Robert's commentary (pp. 114–115) on *I.Amyzon* 2, l. 7 (συνεπιμεληθέντος Μενάνδρου).
18 Le Roy 2005, 336.
19 Melchert forthcoming.
20 I am grateful to Diether Schürr for explaining to me a noteworthy difference between the Greek and the Lykian phrasing.

Greek Text:

Ἐπεὶ Λυκίας ξαδράπης ἐγένετο Π-
ιξώδαρος Ἑκατόμνω ὑός, κατέστη-
σε ἄρχοντας Λυκίας Ἱέρωνα καὶ Ἀ-
πολλόδοτον καὶ Ξάνθου ἐπιμελη-
τὴν Ἀρτεμηλιν. Ἔδοξε δὴ Ξανθίοι-
ς καὶ τοῖς περιοίκοις ἱδρύσασθ-
αι βωμὸν Βασιλεῖ Καυνίωι καὶ Ἀρ-
κεσιμαι, καὶ εἵλοντο ἱερέα Σιμί-
αν Κονδορασιος ὑὸν καὶ ὃς ἂν Σιμ-
ίαι ἐγγύτατος ἧι τὸν ἅπαντα χρό-
νον, καὶ ἔδοσαν αὐτῶι ἀτέλειαν τ-
ῶν ὄντων, καὶ ἔδωκεν ἡ πόλις ἀγρὸ-
ν ὃγ Κεσινδηλις καὶ Πιγρης κατη-
ργάσατο καὶ ὅσον πρὸς τῶι ἀγρῶι
καὶ τὰ οἰκήματα εἶναι Βασιλέως
Καυνίου καὶ Ἀρκεσιμα, καὶ δίδοτ-
αι κατ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν τρία ἡμ-
ιμναῖα παρὰ τῆς πόλεως, καὶ ὅσοι
ἂν ἀπελεύθεροι γένωνται ἀποτί-
νειν τῶι θεῶι δύο δραχμάς, καὶ ὅσ-
α ἐν τῆι στήληι ἐγγέγραπται κατ-
ιερώθη πάντα εἶναι Βασιλέως Κα-
υνίου καὶ Ἀρκεσιμα, καὶ ὅ τι ἄν ἐχ-
φόριον ἐκ τούτων γίνηται θύειν
κατ' ἑκάστην νουμηνίαν ἱερεῖον
καὶ κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν βοῦν, καὶ ἐποιή-
σαντο ὅρκους Ξάνθιοι καὶ οἱ περ-
ίοικοι ὅσα ἐν τῆι στήληι ἐγγέγρ-
απται ποιήσειν ἐντελῆ τοῖς θεο-
ῖς τούτοις καὶ τῶι ἱερεῖ, καὶ μὴ μ-
ετακινήσειν μηδαμὰ μηδ' ἄλλωι ἐ-
πιτρέψειν· ἂν δέ τις μετακινήση-
ι, ἁμαρτωλὸς ⟨ἔ⟩στω τῶν θεῶν τούτω-
ν καὶ Λητοῦς καὶ ἐγγόνων καὶ Νυμ-
φῶν. Πιξώταρος δὲ κύριος ἔστω.

Lykian text:[21]

1. ẽke: trm̃misñ: xssaθrapazate: pigesere: katamlah: tideimi:
2. sẽ=ñne=ñte=pddẽ=hadẽ: trm̃mile: pddẽnehm̃mis: ijeru: se=natrbbijẽmi: se(j)=arñna: asaxlazu: erttimeli:
3. me=hñti=tubedẽ: arus: se(j)=epewẽtlm̃mẽi: arñnãi:

[21] Text and translation Melchert 2000.

4. m̃maitẽ: kumezijẽ: θθẽ: xñtawati: xbidẽñni: se(j)=arKKazuma: xñtawati:
5. sẽ=ñn=aitẽ: kumazu: mahãna: ebette: eseimiju: qñturahahñ: tideimi:
6. se=de: eseimijaje: xuwati=ti:
7. se=i pijẽtẽ: arawã:
8. ehbijẽ: esi=ti:
9. s=ed=eli=ñtãtẽ: teteri: se(j)=epewẽtlm̃mẽi: hrm̃mada: ttaraha:
10. me=xbaitẽ: zã: ese=xesñtedi: qñtati: se=pigrẽi:
11. sẽ=ñte=ñte=km̃mẽ:
12. se(j)=ẽti: θθẽ: sttati=teli:
13. se=t=ahñtãi xñtawatehi: xbidẽñnehi: se(j)=arKKazumahi:
14. se=i=pibiti: uhazata: ada: HOO: ẽti: tllaxñta: arñna:
15. se=sm̃mati: xddazas:
16. epi=de arawa: hãti km̃mẽtis:
17. me=i=pibiti: sixlas:
18. se=wa(j)=aitẽ: kumaha: ẽti sttali: ppuweti: km̃mẽ: ebehi: xñtawataha: xbidẽñnaha: se=rKKazumaha:
19. me=ije=sitẽni=ti: hlm̃mipijata
20. m=ede=te=wẽ: kumezidi: nuredi: nuredi: arã: kumehedi: se=uhazata: uwadi: xñtawati: xbidẽñni: se(j)=erKKazuma:
21. me=kumezidi: seimija:
22. se=de: seimijaje: xuwati=ti:
23. se=i=ehbi=aitẽ: tasa: mere: ebette: teteri: arñnas: se(j)=epewẽtlm̃mẽi: arñnãi:
24. me=t=epi=tuwẽti: mara: ebeija:
25. ẽti: sttali: ppuwẽti=mẽ: ebehi:
26. se=we=ne: xttadi: tike: ebi=ne=ñtewẽ: mahãna: ebette: ebi=ne: ñtewẽ: kumazi: ebehi:
27. xttade=me(j)=ẽ: tike:
28. me=pddẽ: mahãna: sm̃mati: ebette: se(j)=ẽni: qlahi: ebijehi pñtrẽñni: se=tideime: ehbije: se(j)=elijãna:
29. pigesereje: me=i(j)=eseri=hhati:
30. me=hriqla: asñne: pzziti=ti

In the first instance on the Greek version the expression 'the Xanthians and the perioikoi' (ll. 5–6) is paralleled on the Lykian version by *arus se(j)=epewẽtlm̃mẽi arñnãi* (here l. 3), which Melchert translates as 'the citizenry and the Xanthian περίοικοι'. In the second instance we find Greek ἡ πόλις (l. 12) congruent to Lykian *teteri se(j) = epewẽtlm̃mẽi* (l. 9).[22] Thirdly, the same ἡ πόλις (l. 12) is put as *arñna* in Lykian (l. 14),[23] simply denoting 'Xanthos'. And in the fourth instance (ll. 27–28), where the Greek version repeats the formula 'the Xanthians and the *perioikoi*' (Ξάνθιοι καὶ οἱ περίοικοι), its Lykian

[22] Laroche 1979, 53, ll. 13–14.
[23] Laroche 1979, 53, l. 20.

parallel (l. 23)[24] is not *arus se(j)=epewẽtlm̃mẽi arñnãi* but instead *teteri arñnas se(j)= epewẽtlm̃mẽi arñnai.* This leads to the following conclusion: In Lykian, the notion 'Xanthian' can be connected with two elements, *teteri* and *epewẽtlm̃mẽi*, the last being the equivalent of *perioikoi*. Since both elements together can be equated with Greek *polis*, we must consider *teteri* as designating something like 'the inhabitants of the center' as opposed to 'the inhabitants of the vicinity of Xanthos'.[25] The Greek *ethnikon* Ξάνθιοι, however, cannot denote the body of the entire city-state, as *polis* does, but just of the central part of it, excluding the *perioikoi*. The word *arus* (equivalent to *teteri arñnas*) must represent a group distinct from the latter which alone cannot make decisions on behalf of the *polis*. It is noteworthy that the Aramaean version has just *bʿljʾwrn*—'Xanthians'.[26]

As a result we observe a rather peculiar organisation of the local citizenry that appears to be genuinely Lykian. The group denoted by the Greek as *perioikoi* was studied carefully by Michael Wörrle in a paper of 1978.[27] The institution survived in a number of Greek decrees of Telmessos and Limyra down to the middle of the third century BCE. This group of *perioikoi* is clearly to be distinguished from the Lakonian *perioikoi*, legally subordinate to the Spartan citizen-body, since the Lykian *perioikoi*, sharing full political rights as we have seen, must be understood as an integral part of the decision-making political community. That the latter is conceived by the Lykians as composed of two distinct units must be interpreted as evidence for a genuine Lykian origin. Consequently, the term *epewẽtlm̃mẽi* in the trilingual inscription is not a periphrasis of Greek *perioikoi* but certainly the original word for a specific Lykian institution that is translated into Greek.

Evidently Lykian at the time of the inscription must be seen as the official language of the community, whatever the proportion of a Greek-speaking population may have been. Amongst the Xanthians named in the inscription, only the priest Simias bears a Greek name, his father *Kondorasis* as well as two other persons, *Kesindelis* and *Pigres*, bear epichoric names.

On the Karian side we know but very few bilingual inscriptions; the earliest is an edict of Idrieus and Ada set up in the sanctuary of Sinuri (351–341 BCE).[28] If the short Greek and the somewhat longer Karian text deal with the same

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24 Laroche 1979, 54, ll. 31–32.
25 Cf. Frei 1981, 361.
26 Frei 1996, 13 with n. 13.
27 Wörrle 1978. Cf. Hahn 1982, 51–61; Domingo Gygax 1991, 111–130.
28 Deroy 1955, 317. Cf. Robert in *I.Sinuri*, p. 98; Ray 1990, 126–132; Schürr 1992, 136–137.

subject matter, it is interesting to note that the Greek one precedes the Karian one. The sequence is vice versa in two further instances: The opening of a Greek decree of the Kildareis follows the end of a document in Karian on the same stone, and another inscription shows some Karian text above a Greek letter of King Seleukos.[29] But in neither case a relationship concerning the contents can be established.

A unique document from Hyllarima has been almost completely recovered through a recent find that joined together with a fragment known since 1934.[30] A header of two lines of Karian text on the front of the stone is followed by two columns: The left (A) has six lines with names in Karian, paralleled in the right column (B) by two entries of priests' names in Greek, one Greek in origin, the other indigenous. Column A continues with a list of priests in Greek headed by a regnal dating of Antiochos I (263/262 BCE), whereas in B follows a sale of a priesthood dated on prosopographic grounds to the year 197 BCE. Further documents on sales of priesthoods and leasing of land are engraved into the sides of the stone.

What interests us is the upper part of the stele with the oldest documents. In the Karian header the word *molš* is confidently translated as 'priest',[31] and the immediately adjacent names on either side, (A) the Karian and (B) the Greek, apparently belong to different priests but were engraved at about the same time in the fourth century BCE. That would mean the concomitant, equally legitimate usage of two languages in public documentation. The choice of either language has nothing to do with the ethnicity of the persons named in the list, since a purely Karian name, Hyssolos, son of Arissis, was written in Greek letters. What had ultimately motivated the shift from Karian to Greek in the list remains enigmatic.

A document of outstanding importance for our enquiry is the Karian-Greek bilingual inscription of Kaunos (Fig. 13). The editors of *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum* commented on the view that Karian, by the time the decree of the Karian-Greek bilingual inscription of Kaunos was passed, must have been the official language of the community, 'which surprises in view of the otherwise thorough Hellenization of Karia at this time'.[32] 'Thorough Hellenization' indeed was emphatically asserted by Jeanne and Louis

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29 *I.Mylasa* 961; Robert 1950, 14–16; Blümel and Adiego 1993, 87–95.

30 Laumonier 1934, 345–376, no. 39; Adiego, Debord and Varinlioğlu 2005, 601–653; *SEG* 55.1113.

31 Adiego 2010, 147–176.

32 *SEG* 47.1568. See also Frei and Marek 1997, 55; Blümel 1998, 173.

Robert. When under the reign of the satrap Asandros in the fourth regnal year of Philippos Arrhidaios (321/320 BCE) the Karian community Amyzon appointed an Iranian to be *neokoros* of Artemis and published a decree, Greek, it is argued, had obviously become the only official language: 'non seulement le décret est rédigé en grec—car c' est la seule langue officielle—, mais on y dispose déjà d' un lapicide pour le décret sur un monument dans la plus belle écriture'.[33] The Roberts are supported by Christian Le Roy with respect to the preceding period of the Hekatomnids: 'l' époque hécatomnide est celle d' une généralisation de la langue grecque comme langue de l' état'.[34]

The bilingual inscription from Kaunos, similar to the trilingual from Xanthos, is sufficiently well-preserved to allow judgement on the carving of letters and arrangement of texts. In contrast to the trilingual or to the edict of Idrieus and Ada, the version written in the epichoric language here can clearly be determined as preferential, not only because of its position above the Greek, but on palaeographic grounds: larger letters, 'la plus belle écriture'. The outward appearance of the monument, certainly a concern of the community, cannot be dismissed as irrelevant to the question of the status of the languages, as Le Roy does by his explanation that the epichoric version may just indicate that the stone-cutter was a Karian who wished to supply his compatriots with a readable text.

The Karian version of 18 lines is almost complete; from the Greek roughly the lower half is broken away. Comparison on linguistic grounds failed to establish a precise structural identity of the two texts. Nevertheless the succession of related sequences and the parallelisms of elements such as names of the deciding community, eponymous magistrate, honorands and privileges, account for a very close relationship. Again we quote the text of both versions:

1.	ἔδοξε Καυν[ί]οις, ἐπὶ δημιο-	1.	kbiḍṇ uiomλn i[poζ-]
2.	ργοῦ Ἱπποσθένους̣· Νικοκ-	2.	ini sδrual niḳ[ok-]
3.	λέα Λυσικλέους Ἀθηναῖο[ν]	3.	lan lùsiklas[n]
4.	καὶ Λυσικλέα Λυσικράτ[ους]	4.	otonosn sb lùṣ[ikl-]
5.	[Ἀ]θηναῖον προξένους ε[ἶναι κ-]	5.	an lùsikrataṣ[n]
6.	[α]ὶ εὐεργέτας Καυνίω[ν αὐτο-]	6.	otonosn sarni[š]
7.	ὺς καὶ ἐκγόνους καὶ [ὑπάρχει-]	7.	mdoΩun sb unδo[1–2]
8.	ν αὐτοῖς ε[ἴσπλουν καὶ ἔκπλουν]	8.	tλš kbdùnš sb 46 o[1–2]
	[------------------------------------]	9.	olš otrš sb aχt[ms-]
		10.	ḳm tabsims sb[1–3]

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[33] Robert in *I.Amyzon*, p. 117.

[34] Le Roy 2005, 341.

11. ụ̀Ωoru sb aχṭ[mskm]
12. ḅụχù [....]ị[..]i
13. [..]ṣ́unmoaxlboror
14. [..]TλχsaṣoΩort *vacat*
15. tab sb ortṇ sb Tor *vacat*
16. ouobimslmnlia *vacat*
17. purmoruoṃ mnos *vacat*
18. aitusi. *vacat*

A remarkable feature of the Karian similar to the Lykian of the trilingual inscription is the lack of any Greek loanword, especially concerning terms for political institutions. We can isolate the sequence *sδrual* (l. 2) as corresponding to the title of the eponymous magistrate δημιοργός, and next the sequence *sarni* as corresponding to πρόξενος. Other parallels are still debated as far as their precise definitions are concerned.[35]

Christian Le Roy, denying that Karian at that time could have been the official language in Kaunos, argues for a translation from Greek into the epichoric idiom. He concentrates on the style of the Greek version which is labeled as 'purely Greek' ('purement grec') with no trace of a translation of a foreign original. The style of proxeny decrees can be studied on documents from the early fifth century BCE onwards.[36] The institution of *proxenia*, attested in Greece as early as the seventh century, undoubtedly was transmitted to Karians by the Greeks, and its first appearance in Asia Minor is considerably later than in the Greek mainland.[37] For that reason (and different from the case of *ateleia*) it must be conceded that Karian words for *proxenos, proxenia, euergetes* and perhaps for privileges like *enktesis* and other elements should be considered as periphrases of Greek terms, rather than independent concepts. On the other hand, there is no reason to believe that Karians late in the fourth century could draft a proxeny decree only on the occasion of an originally Greek document. The text from Kaunos is too brief, and the formula rather unspecific, to distinguish its style as 'purely Greek'.[38] If we look at the so-called formula of sanction as simply ἔδοξε Καυνίοις, it is hard to classify this as an exclusively juridical terminology at all, let alone as bound to decrees of a Greek *polis*. Maussollos and Artemisia introduce their grant of proxeny to the citizens of Knossos: ἔδοξε

35 See Adiego 2010, 155–156.
36 Frei and Marek 1997, 22 with n. 19.
37 Marek 1984.
38 Cf. Frei and Marek 1997, 28 with n. 40.

Μαυσσώλωι καὶ Ἀρτεμισίηι.[39] Similar decrees and edicts of individuals like Pairisades and sons, the rulers of the Bosporan kingdom, the Paphlagonian dynast Korylas, Berenike, or in Karia the priest Korrhis, use the formula as well.[40] I am not convinced of Le Roy's verdict on these examples as representing 'un détournement de l'usage et du sens' committed by non-Greeks, and at which a Greek would gaze as a juridical monster ('un monstre juridique').[41] The treaty between the city of Sinope and the tyrants of Herakleia Pontike in the fourth century BCE is of purely Greek authorship. In one of its clauses the partners prospectively refer to possible decrees on either side: κ̣' ἂν δοκῆι Σινωπ̣εῦσι κα[ὶ] Σατύρωι καὶ τοῖς [Κλεάρχου] π̣[αι]σ̣ί.[42] When native Greeks make free use of δοκεῖν to refer to the decision of a clan of tyrants, why should we consider non-Greeks using the same phrase as inappropriately emulating a formula of civic decrees?

Apart from my doubts about the style being decisive in the question of the original language, there is one element that rather plumps for the contrary of Le Roy's opinion. This is the title δημιοργός, in Karian *sδrual*. If the Greek version was the original and the Karian a translation, δημιοργός must be seen as the official title of the eponymous magistrate of the Greek *polis* at that time.[43] However, all other decrees of the Kaunians attested from the early third century BCE onwards give the title of a priest as eponymous magistrate. Neither here nor elsewhere the word δημιοργός ever denoted a priest. Why did the Kaunians only decades later change the title of their eponymous magistrate, which rarely occurs in the epigraphic records of Greek *poleis*? A plausible explanation is that the older fourth century BCE community still had a Karian supreme magistrate which was not accepted by a Hellenized majority when the *polis* remodelled its constitution sometime after the death of Alexander. As regards the bilingual inscription, the Greek word δημιοργός meaning 'one who works for the people' would then be the periphrasis of an originally Karian title.

The document from Kaunos is the second example of a communal decree written in an epichoric language ever found in Asia Minor. After the successful decipherment of Karian, it became clear that we possess a third one: the

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39 Misunderstood by Klinkott 2009, 158.

40 Korylas: Xen. *An.* 5.6.11; Bosporan kingdom: Vinogradov and Wörrle 1992, 160 with n. 6; Korris: *I.Labraunda* 11, 12. Cf. Rhodes and Lewis 1997, 544–545: 'kings and others occasionally publish decrees which they formulate as if they were cities'.

41 Le Roy 2005, 336.

42 *I.Sinope* 1, ll. 22–23.

43 Sherk 1990–1993; cf. Veligianni-Terzi 1977.

longest Karian inscription (*I.Kaunos*, K 2), also from Kaunos, which has so far escaped any attempt to understand a word or guess at its content, but now can be identified as another proxeny decree. Since it is fragmentary, broken on top and at the bottom, there is no way to find out whether it exhibits a Karian text alone or was accompanied by a Greek version now lost.

We may conclude that the Karians, similar to the Lykians of Xanthos, wrote down and published their political *acta* in their own language. At the time of the Xanthians' *acta*, in neighbouring Karia a number of indigenous communities already used the Greek language, and solely Greek, to do the same—Mylasa, Tralleis, the Plataseis. Our evidence indicates that only two communities marched to a different drummer: Kaunos and the Kildareis. Why?

Any attempt to answer this question must be hypothetical. The two bilingual inscriptions from Kaunos and Kildara, in addition to the fact that both have the Greek version engraved into the stone below the Karian one, share a conspicuous feature: in both the dating by regnal years of a king and/or the mention of a satrap is missing, whereas—taking aside Greek coastal cities such as Iasos, Halikarnassos, Knidos—virtually all other decrees of Lykian and Karian communities that we know of passed in the periods of the Persians and the Diadochi contain this type of dating. The longest series is from Mylasa, eight documents dated between 377 and 318/317 BCE by the regnal years of the Great King Artaxerxes or of the Macedonian Philippos Arrhidaios and mentioning the satraps Maussollos or Asandros.[44] In the same way the Trallians dated under Artaxerxes and Idrieus (351/350 BCE),[45] the Plataseis under Pixodaros and Philippos,[46] the citizens of Amyzon[47] and Koaranza[48] under Philippos and Asandros, the citizens of Hyllarima under Pleistarchos,[49] the Koinon of the Chrysaoreis under Ptolemaios II;[50] following the same pattern in Lykia are Telmessos, Araxa, Lissai, Xanthos and Limyra.[51]

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44 In chronological order: *I.Mylasa* 4 (before 377 BCE); 1 (= *Syll*^{3} 167a; 367/366 BCE); 2 (= *Syll*^{3} 167b; 361/360 BCE); 3 (= *Syll*^{3} 167c; 355/354 BCE); 11 (= Bresson, Brun and Varinlioğlu 2001, no. 90; *SEG* 40.991; 354/353 BCE); 5 (353/352 BCE); *I.Stratonikeia* 2 (c. 318/317 BCE); *I.Mylasa* 21 (c. 318/317 BCE).

45 *I.Tralleis* 33 (= Robert 1936, 94–97).

46 *I.Labraunda* 42 (= Bresson, Brun and Varinlioğlu 2001, no. 48); Bresson, Brun and Varinlioğlu 2001, no. 47 (= *SEG* 40.996).

47 *I.Amyzon* 2.

48 *I.Stratonikeia* 503.

49 Hornblower 1982, 368, M 11.

50 *SEG* 40.980.

51 Telmessos: *TAM* II 1, Wörrle 1978, 218; Araxa: Maiuri 1925–1926, 313–315, no. 1 (= *SEG*

The exception from the regularity of this type of dating in Lykia and Karia calls for an explanation. This cannot be found in a local peculiarity to avoid regnal dating, since the Kaunians too returned to it later, under Antigonos Monophthalmos or Gonatas.[52] One can hardly escape the conclusion that Kaunos at the time of the proxeny decree was controlled neither by a king nor a satrap.

Unfortunately neither the bilingual inscription from Kaunos nor the one from Kildara can be precisely dated. The date of the Kaunian one, however, can be narrowed down on prosopographic grounds. One of the honorands, Nikokles, son of Lysikles, from the *demos* Kydantidai, almost certainly is identical with the homonymous Athenian who was active at home around 327/326 BCE.[53] Considering the possible historical background of a relationship implied by the grant of *proxenia*, Peter Frei and I suggested that the decree was passed during the so-called Lamian War of 322 BCE.[54] There was apparently no external authority controlling the city at that time.[55]

The cutting of the Karian version of the document above the Greek into the stone, as we have argued seems to be a strong indication of the community's deliberate preference to the native language. Taken together with the absence of regnal dating it reveals a practice strikingly opposite to the majority of decrees issued under the satrapal regime: regnal dating, preference to Greek. And this could well be interpreted in a political context, reflecting a different mode of self-representation.

Hellenization, therefore, appears to be somewhat confined. From the fifth century onwards, the Greek language gained a strong appeal particularly to local elites. The dynast's record of his heroic deeds inscribed in Lykian into the pillar on the akropolis of Xanthos at the end of the fifth century BCE on one side is adorned with a supplement of Greek verses. On some of the monumental tombs of the aristocracy, inscriptions are in Greek. Finally, and

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49.1076); Lissai: *TAM* II 158–160; Xanthos: *I.Amyzon* 4, *TAM* II 262, *SEG* 36.1218.1220; 38.1476; Limyra: *SEG* 27.929.

52 *I.Kaunos* 4.

53 For the evidence see Frei and Marek 1997, 61–66. The Attic curse tablet in which Nikokles, son of Lysikles, is inscribed amongst many other Athenians, was revised by Jordan and Curbera 2008, who date the tablet between 345 and 335 BCE. Surprisingly the authors did not take notice of the decree from Kaunos. The previous reading of the name of Demosthenes was not confirmed.

54 Frei and Marek 1997, 68–72.

55 Marek 2006, 96.

most significantly, the ruling family of the Hekatomnids in Karia had their names inscribed in Greek on public buildings and on the bases of their statues dedicated to the gods, and they had their edicts written in Greek, even when addressed to communities with an indigenous majority, such as Pixodaros to Tlos, Pinara and Kadyanda. Since Simon Hornblower published his book on Maussollos in 1982, it is *communis opinio* amongst scholars that this Karian prince introduced something like an 'Ionian renaissance' in his satrapy; the Greek language became *lingua franca*, the epigraphic habit mushroomed—in fact Karia in the fourth century BCE produced more Greek inscriptions than any other region of Asia Minor—Greek myth, art, craftsmanship, architecture and political institutions were favoured and widely adopted. The most prominent Greek architect Pytheos worked at Maussollos' monumental tomb in Halikarnassos as did the famous sculptor Skopas. Similarly, the nobility in Lykia fancied rock-cut tombs as well as *heroa* and sarcophagi that display the influence of Greek art and architecture, literary *topoi* and pictorial motifs, pointing to familiarity of the Lykians with Greek myth, and a personal name like *Hellaphilos* ostentatiously exhibits enthusiasm for Greek culture.[56] But all of this seems closely connected, if not with the Hekatomnid clan for the most part, with the local nobility,—not with the sphere of communal life as a whole.

The study of the use of language in political documents of Lykians and Karians, however, has shown that in this respect there was no linear, uninterrupted development towards the use of Greek as the sole official language, and consequently towards ubiquitous and continuous Hellenization. Evidence for the use of Greek must be differentiated according to its context, whether sepulchral, religious, political, and consider the perspective of its author, whether interior or exterior, communal or monarchic. Thus, in Karia an unequivocal preference for the local language as the 'state language' can be ascertained at a time when resolutions of the community did not occur under monarchic directive. Paradoxically, the free indigenous community was reluctant to continue what the indigenous rulers of the country in the fourth century BCE had promoted.

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56 Wörrle 1998, 77–83.

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INTERCULTURALITY IN IMAGE AND CULT IN THE HELLENISTIC EAST: TYRIAN MELQART REVISITED*

Jessica L. Nitschke

The religious character of the Near East in the centuries after Alexander is typically described as a mélange of divinities and beliefs, variously mixed or 'syncretized', that reflect diverse cultural origins. The interchange between Greek and Semitic traditions of religious practice has long been one of the more fascinating aspects for scholars of the Hellenistic East, going all the way back to Johann Droysen and earlier. Yet this interaction remains difficult to understand.[1] In large part this is because the surviving descriptive testimony for religious beliefs and rituals in the Hellenistic Near East is scarce and often problematic, leaving us largely dependent on inscriptions and material evidence. The latter—especially the artistic and iconographic evidence—can be ambiguous and thus challenging to interpret, especially as concerns questions of cross-cultural transmission. As is well known, Greek (and later Roman) forms of divine imagery and sacred architecture were adopted from the Hellenistic period onward in many cities and sanctuaries in the Near East, both old and new. A question of concern for researchers has been to what extent the employment of Classical forms of art and architecture in the visualization of the divine and in sanctuary space reflects actual, substantive cultural change or simply constitutes a superficial veneer.[2]

So, for example, some scholars have dismissed Classical architectural forms and representations of Near Eastern deities as merely decorative or

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[1] The literature on acculturation and contact in the sphere of religion in the East after Alexander is immense. Thoughtful discussions of the problem can be found in Kaizer 2000 and 2006, Gawlikowski 1991, and Teixidor 1989.

[2] The superficiality of Classical forms and culture is a major theme of Warwick Ball's survey of the Roman East (2000)—see especially the introduction and chapter 7.

of no real influence on local religious culture.[3] Others are more ambivalent. For example, John Boardman concludes that 'religious images made their way mainly through reinterpretation locally rather than adoption of Greek religious practice' but also suggests that 'for figures of gods themselves only those circumstances in which there was considerable assimilation of Greek to non-Greek deities admitted classical forms for essentially non-classical divine figures'.[4] Maurice Sartre stresses the traditional and indigenous nature of cult and sanctuaries behind Greek and Roman-style facades, but at the end of his discussion concludes that 'this "Greek" style of temple decoration contributed to the assimilation between "Hellenism" and "paganism" that took place over time following the triumph of Christianity'.[5] Others maintain that the iconographic evidence, e.g. symbolic attributes, can be used as evidence of the essential fusion of some divine personalities,[6] and that to dismiss Classical artistic forms as superficial mistakenly suggests that Near Eastern forms of religious practice were static and overlooks the role that Hellenism had to play.[7]

These conflicting views are a consequence of the difficulty of interpreting such diverse and piecemeal material in order to say something concrete about a topic that is largely abstract. The argument that Classical forms and representations in Near Eastern art represent a superficial adoption of culture depends on the assumption that form is entirely separable from content, which few would be willing to concede. But it is equally unrealistic to assume that artistic forms and ideas traveled together as a unified package from one cultural group to another. So the question that occupies us here is this: to what extent does the appropriation of foreign images and artistic styles to represent a local deity also reflect the adoption of foreign religious ideas and cult practices? Or to put it more specifically, does a change from something local to something more 'Hellenizing' in the way a god was visualized in the Near East, as survives in our spotty record, reflect a significant difference in the way the god is perceived or worshipped?

A number of methodological concerns make it difficult to tackle such a question. For example, the divinities involved in syncretistic processes

[3] Ball 2000, Gawlikowski 1991, 251 and Teixidor 1979, 61–62 for example.

[4] Boardman 1994, 315–317.

[5] Sartre 2005, 307–318, esp. 308, 310, 316, and 318 for the quote. See also Sartre 1991, 491–496, for the view that *interpretatio graeca* of Near Eastern gods had little practical impact on the perception of the deities and cult practices.

[6] E.g. Christides 2003, discussing Athena and *Allāt* at Palmyra.

[7] Kaizer 2000, 226–228; see also Bowersock 1990, 71–74 for a critique of the argument that Hellenism was a superficial presence in the Near East.

varied in place, time, and context. Palmyrene *Allāt* was identified with both Artemis and Athena; Astarte can be found variously identified with Hera, Aphrodite, Asteria, or Selene. The characteristics or sphere of influence of divinities in both the Graeco-Roman and Near Eastern realms could vary considerably from place to place. For a given deity, the surviving evidence tends to be sporadic and uneven across space and time, making it difficult to formulate helpful comparisons. There is no guarantee that an image, icon, or symbol used in one place at a certain time carried with it the same significance when it was appropriated in another place or in another time. In the absence of an accompanying identifying inscription, this makes mere identification of divine figures debatable, particularly in contexts that we tend to see as less 'Hellenized' or Greek.

Such is the case at Palmyra, for example, where we have a substantial corpus of evidence of strong continuity of local culture in addition to adaptation and appropriation of Greek and Roman traditions. Alongside representations of the gods in traditional local styles are depictions modeled on classical Greek forms, such as the colossal statue from the Temple of *Allāt*, sculpted in the tradition of Pheidias' famous statue of Athena. This statue has been labeled and described in various ways: as just 'Athena' on the simple basis of iconography and style according to traditional practices of typology; as a likeness of the assimilated or fused divinity '*Allāt*-Athena' who has embraced the warrior aspects of Athena; and as *Allāt* 'with the features of a classic Attic Athena'.[8] The choice of one label or another by scholars likely says more about the cultural viewpoint and training of the observer than it does about what the ancient Palmyrenes thought.

Ted Kaizer draws attention to this dilemma in discussing a relief from Palmyra depicting a naked male figure wearing a lion skin and wielding a club (essentially the Greek Herakles), standing next to three divinities with radiate crowns dressed in the local style typical of Palmyrene art. His doubt about identifying the figure as the Greek hero is based in part on the artistic context: 'The iconography of the Herakles figure may be Greek, but the style of all the deities that are depicted is still very local'.[9] For this reason, Kaizer prefers the more neutral 'Herakles figure', which acknowledges the origin of the iconography and its traditional meaning, but allows for the possibility that the Palmyrenes may have called the deity by a different name.

8 Friedland 2008, 347; Christides 2003, 73, and Sartre 2005, 307, respectively.
9 Kaizer 2000, 225 with n. 39. For the relief, see Drijvers 1976, 12 and pl. XIV.

But if such images turn up in a city regarded as more Greek, such as Apameia, or a region believed to be more affected by Greek norms, such as the Levantine coast, would there be much doubt among modern commentators in using the Greek name, and thus applying a Greek identity and/or Greek characteristics to the divinity? Likely not. The connection between what we perceive as Greek style and iconography and what we regard as Greek culture is so strong in the modern social imaginary, so to speak, that it is difficult to separate the two in absence of strong evidence suggesting otherwise (such as a site like Palmyra). Adi Erlich has recently highlighted this issue in her analysis of the art of Palestine in the Hellenistic period. At the site of Maresha, a number of Herakles figures have been recovered in stone, terracotta and bronze that seem to mimic the standard Hellenic types for the god.[10] There is also a relief plaque depicting a figure that has been identified as Herakles on the basis of beard and musculature. But, as Erlich points out, it is distinguished from the other Herakles figures from the site in that it is stylistically 'Eastern', through its use of stylized features and a frontal pose. She wonders, 'if in most cases where he appears at Maresha in a Greek form and style we can identify him as Heracles, are we permitted to do the same in this case, or given his Eastern style, is there evidence of a syncretic or Eastern identification for the figure?'.[11]

The difficulty lies in the connections we make between style, ethnicity and cultural identity, as well as between form and content, and in the cultural categorization of the divinity in question and its cult. On this matter, Erlich reaches the following conclusion regarding the usefulness of Greek-style figures of deities for understanding Graeco-Near Eastern religious exchange: 'The figurines cannot be instructive on syncretism, as the gods are only depicted according to their known Greek iconographies. The Herakles figures, for example, do nothing to contribute to our understanding of the syncretism between that god and Melqart. Most of the figurines attest not to cultural assimilation but to coexistence, along parallel rather than intersecting lines, and to Greek iconographic hegemony'.[12] She has a point—without being able to consult the patron, viewer, or artist directly, there is really no way of knowing for certain what an image actually means to a given person or group.[13] But images of deities account for a substantial

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10 Erlich 2009, 14–15, 34–36, 52.
11 Erlich 2009, 15.
12 Erlich 2009, 60.
13 Cf. Kaizer 2000, 222–223.

portion of our evidence for intercultural religious exchange in the Near East in the Graeco-Roman period. Further, the iconographic representations of these gods in a non-scriptural tradition constitute a crucial component of their theology.[14] If we cannot turn to the iconographic evidence of the Hellenistic and Roman East to understand developments in religious thought and culture, we remain severely handicapped.

Recent approaches to the issue of image and religious syncretism in the Graeco-Roman East have increasingly emphasized that the religious life of the Near East underwent continual changes, and that any syncretistic processes should be viewed as exactly that—processes, that are not static or fixed.[15] The images of gods that have come down to us have a role in our attempt to understand these processes, despite the methodological difficulties. I agree with Ted Kaizer that 'one should not [...] try to make sense of the complex religious world of the region by restricting as many ambiguities as possible'.[16] The images are ambiguous, especially so because they reflect more than a religious point of view. Iconography was not constructed in a vacuum, and the factors that informed the creation of divine images in the ancient world go well beyond theological belief.

In order to highlight the ambiguity of the visual evidence for questions of religious acculturation as well as to draw attention to the importance of context—physical, historical, and political as well as cultural—I want to take a close look at the images related to one of the most well-documented cases of *interpretatio graeca* of a Near Eastern divinity: Herakles and Melqart. There is a tendency to explain the Greek character of visualizations of Tyrian 'Herakles' as an indication (or result) of the general 'Hellenization', more or less deep, of Phoenician culture generally or the Tyrian god specifically.[17] What follows is by no means intended to be a comprehensive review of the entirety of evidence relating to this complex relationship. But it is hoped that by taking the long view of visualizations of Melqart over time we can say something more concrete about why his images look the way they do, and what this can or cannot tell us about the impact of Greek religious traditions on Phoenician culture.

14 Bricault and Prescendi 2009.
15 Stewart 1999.
16 Kaizer 2000, 227.
17 E.g. Mettinger 1995, 91; Bonnet 1992, 176–177.

Tyrian Melqart and Greek Herakles

Melqart, whose name means 'King/lord of the city', appears to be the chief god of the city of Tyre (*Ba'al Ṣur*) by the first millennium BCE, and remains so through the period of Roman imperial control.[18] We have no literary sources in Phoenician to relate his mythology and characteristics; our knowledge of his existence and his sphere of influence both in the Levant and throughout the Mediterranean is dependent on inscriptions and Greek and Roman writers, who portray him as a deified king/founder of the city, as well as having chthonic associations.[19] He belonged to the class of dying/rising gods of the East, such as Adonis; a yearly festival to relive and commemorate his resurrection was held every spring in which the king of Tyre played a significant role. Thus Melqart had strong associations with the dynasty, city foundations, Tyre itself, and resurrection/fertility.

Precisely where, when, and why an association was first made between Herakles and Melqart and how far 'fused' the two hero-gods became are matters of debate. But, as amply discussed by Irad Malkin and others, it likely occurred in the context of Tyrian and Greek colonial activities in the western Mediterranean in the archaic period.[20] The cult of Melqart played a major role in the establishment of Tyrian colonies in North Africa, Malta, Sardinia, and Spain, many of which had prominent temples dedicated to the god.[21] That these colonies retained a connection with the god of their mother city is evident, for example, in Carthage's annual deliverance of its first fruits to Tyre and the sanctuary of Melqart, which it continued to do for centuries—at least until the beginning of the Hellenistic period.[22] As

18 *DDD*, s.v. 'Melqart'. For a thorough collection and examination of the evidence for Melqart/Tyrian Herakles, see Lipinski 1995, 226–243 and Bonnet 1988. Not all scholars agree that Melqart is in fact the 'Baal of Tyre', see Élayi and Élayi 2010, 269–270, with references, for the arguments.

19 Arr. *Anab*. 2.15.7–2.16.7; Nonnus, *Dion*. 40.422.

20 Malkin 2011, 119–142 ('Herakles and Melqart: Networking heroes'); see also Bonnet 1988. Explicit evidence connecting the two gods comes from two bilingual inscriptions from Malta (*KAI* 47), which make it clear that 'Herakles' is Greek for 'Melqart', and thus that Herodotos' discussion of Herakles of Tyre and his sanctuary (2.44) must be in reference to Melqart. Significant attention has also been given to Cyprus as the stage for the 'fusion' of the two deities ca. 600 BCE (see Jourdain-Annequin 1992a and 1989; Bonnet 1988, esp. 10–17; Dussand 1946–1948). This line of inquiry places great emphasis on the 'master of animal' statues of Cypriot origin—see below, notes 28 and 49.

21 Malkin 2011, 126; Aubet 2001, 155–158. For the importance of sanctuaries in granting legitimacy to Phoenician colonialist efforts, see Bunnens 1986.

22 Polyb. 31.12; Arr. *Anab*. 2.24.5.

described by Malkin, relying on the idea of 'middle ground' acculturation developed by Richard White, it is in his function as a founder of cities (and a dynasty) as well as his hero-turned-god character that led the Greeks to identify Melqart with their Herakles.[23] This fit well with the expansionist ambitions of Greeks in Sicily in the archaic period, as they could superimpose the myth of Herakles onto Melqart and Phoenician sites in the Mediterranean, justifying territorial claims.[24]

To what extent the Phoenicians, either in the western colonies or in Tyre, embraced Greek ideas about their god in the Archaic period is difficult to know. The connection and identification is unlikely to have remained static over time, as the Phoenician pantheon was malleable and variable, particularly from city to city. We have evidence from the Roman Imperial period showing the Phoenicians embracing Greek legends about themselves, such as coins from Tyre showing Europa carried off by the bull and Kadmos 'presenting' the alphabet to the Greeks. So it is certainly plausible that Phoenicians at one or more cities would have been amenable to incorporating Heraklean mythology into their own traditions of Melqart. But we simply do not have the written Phoenician perspective to pinpoint if, when, and to what extent this took place. We do, however, have iconography.

The Many Faces of Melqart

We have no cult statues of Tyrian Melqart from any period (none may ever have existed) or any remains of his sanctuary in Tyre.[25] The earliest confirmed image of Melqart is a relief found on an inscribed votive basalt stele from Breidj (near Aleppo, Syria) dated to ca. 800 BCE on epigraphic grounds.[26] The god is depicted in an amalgamation of Syro-Hittite style and Phoenician attributes. He is bare-chested, sporting a *shendyt* kilt with two cobra-headed tassels hanging down the front—this Egyptianizing garb is commonly found in Phoenician seals and in Cypro-Phoenician statuary in this period.[27] His right hand carries what is probably an *ankh* symbol; his left

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23 Malkin 2011, 132–141; White 1991.

24 Malkin 2011, 141.

25 That the cult of Melqart had aniconic features is well attested for Tyre and Gades; the evidence comes from Graeco-Roman literary sources and Roman-era coins, and will be discussed further below.

26 For this stele, which measures about one meter in height, see Pitard 1988, esp. 13–16, with references.

27 Markoe 1990a.

holds a fenestrated axe up on his left shoulder. He is bearded and wears a conical cap. The Aramaic dedicatory inscription (*KAI* 201 = *TSSI* II.1), made by a local king named Bir-Hadad, is addressed to Melqart, confirming, at least in this case, the identification.

Outside of this, we have no definite images of Melqart prior to the fourth century.[28] A number of images on seals from sites around the Mediterranean dating from the seventh through fourth centuries and terracotta figurines from the third and second centuries have also been suggested by scholars as representations of Melqart on the basis of imagery (e.g. fenestrated axe) and/or context (found near a known or suspected site of a temple of Melqart), but given the overlapping nature of the iconography with other gods, in particular Baal Hammon, these identifications are uncertain.[29] Five bronze statuettes dated to the eighth and seventh centuries BCE from Cadiz have been identified as Melqart, as they were discovered underwater near where scholars believe the famous sanctuary of Melqart/Hercules Gaditanus was located.[30] This is speculative but worth noting for the style and attributes of the statues—typically Phoenician but with an emphasis on Egyptian divine and royal iconography in the headgear, such as the *hedjet* ('white') crown of Upper Egypt and the *atef* crown typical of Osiris, attested in Phoenician divine imagery elsewhere in the Iron Age.

This is not much to work with, but it is safe to say that Iron-age imagery of Phoenician divinities, including Melqart (as indicated by the Briedj stele if not other objects too), incorporate traditional Levantine symbols of power (axe) but also reflect current political and cultural trends. The increase in 'Egyptianizing' styles in Phoenician art in the Iron Age, from the late

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[28] A number of votive statuettes have been found in temple precincts most prominently at Amrit (Marathos), but also in limited numbers at Sidon and other sites in Palestine and Cyprus, depicting a standing or striding male wearing a lion skin, variously brandishing a club in an upraised hand (in the 'smiting position') or a bow, and often clutching a lion cub or bird, dating to the seventh/sixth or perhaps fifth cent., in chalk limestone of likely Cypriot origin and manufacture—see Lembke 2004 and Jourdain-Annequin 1992a. Some scholars, on the basis of the leonine iconography alone, have identified these as 'Herakles-Melqart' (e.g. Jourdain-Annequin). Recently, others have been more skeptical because of the lack of inscriptional confirmation, suspecting that these statues could represent any one of a number of Cypriot or Phoenician deities. These scholars prefer the neutral 'Master of Animals' or 'Master of Lion' label (e.g. Lembke 2004, 42; Counts 2008, 10). Since there is no independent evidence suggesting cultic activity related to Melqart in the Levantine locations in which these statues have been found with Melqart (in fact the temple at Sidon is firmly associated with Eshmun), I exclude them from this discussion.

[29] Bonnet 1997, 831, nos. 3–6, 8, 10. Bonnet 2007; Culican 1960.

[30] Bonnet 1997, 831, no. 11; Perdigones Moreno 1991; Aubet 2001, 203 with fig. 44.

ninth century through the mid-seventh century, coincides with increased Egyptian political and economic impact on Phoenicia under the XXIIth and XXIIIth dynasties.[31]

Melqart and Tyrian Coins in the Persian Period

The next phase of Melqart images that survive also reflects the ties between style, representation, and power. At the beginning of the fourth century BCE, the city of Tyre introduced a new obverse type for its silver coinage: a bearded divinity facing right, riding a mythical winged seahorse, below which are waves and a dolphin.[32] (Fig. 15) With extended forelegs and prominent wings, the seahorse flies over the ocean, imparting a strong sense of movement. Both the seahorse and the dolphin are common motifs on Phoenician coins in this period—the dolphin is found on the obverse of both large and small denominations of Tyrian coins from their inauguration through to the Macedonian period, and the seahorse appears on contemporary issues from Byblos and Arados as well as on Iron Age seals.[33]

As for the deity, the head and torso are depicted in a stylized manner, while the lower half of his body is obscured by the wings of the seahorse. There is no inscription, but most observers identify the image as Melqart, rightly concluding that the honor of the obverse must have gone to Tyre's most prominent deity.[34] His portrayal here significantly differs in both style

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31 Markoe 1990b, 22–23.

32 This remained the dominant obverse type through Alexander's reign. Prior to this the obverse featured a dolphin, typically with waves and sometimes a shell. See Élayi and Élayi 2010 generally for the coinage of Persian-period Tyre, and esp. 253–271 and 392 for the iconography of these specific coins.

33 Élayi and Élayi 2010, 259 and 264; Gubel 1992, no. 10. A deity riding a seahorse is also found on a clay tablet at Kerkouane in Tunisia; his identity is uncertain. See Fantar 1977, pl. 4.1.

34 See the discussion in Élayi and Élayi 2010, 269–271, with references. There are some scholars, however who resist this identification because the depiction is different from earlier ones of Melqart, arguing that the chief god of Tyre could be another deity from the Tyrian pantheon. But as pointed out by Élayi and Élayi, the classical sources and epigraphic evidence from both the region of Tyre and from Malta makes an alternate candidate for 'Baal of Tyre' unlikely. Others, on the basis of this image's maritime associations alone, have suggested Poseidon (e.g. Betlyon 1982, 147), but there is no evidence connecting this god to Tyre. Bonnet 2007 is skeptical of the identification of the figure with Melqart, but for unstated reasons. But if not Melqart, then who else? Élayi and Élayi's thorough analysis concludes that the divinity pictured on Tyrian coins of the Persian period must be either Melqart or an 'unknown deity'. But one has to wonder if we can truly ponder the existence of a Tyrian god that was so

Fig. 15. Silver shekel, minted in Tyre. Obverse: Melqart, bearded, draped, riding winged seahorse; left hand, bow and quiver; right hand, reins; below, waves and dolphin. Reverse: Owl standing, right; head facing; crook and flail over left shoulder. Date: ca. 360–350 BCE. British Museum, 1906, 0713.1. Photograph © The Trustees of the British Museum.

and attributes from the earlier known representation of Melqart as well as the later 'Hellenizing' representations. Where does it come from and what does it mean?

The major Phoenician cities of the Levant started minting coins around the middle of the fifth century BCE, and the imagery chosen for this coinage has clear connections to the established repertoire of symbols found in traditional Phoenician arts, especially glyptics.[35] But the mints also looked to the contemporary coinage and glyptics of foreign entities for iconographic cues. So, for example, the bearded head on the obverse of fifth/fourth century Aradian coins has been recognized as mimicking the archaizing style of the head of Athena on Athenian coins.[36] Various quotations of Achaemenid royal imagery are found on the reverse of Sidon's coins throughout the Persian period.[37] The reverse type of Tyre's coinage since its inauguration con-

significant as to merit a place on the obverse of the city's coins but leaves no other trace on the epigraphic, literary, and archaeological record thus far.

[35] Gubel 1992; Élayi 1992.

[36] So much that when Athena's eye on the Athenian issue changed from frontal representation to a profile view at the end of the fifth century, so too did the eye of the male bearded divinity in the Aradian issues (Élayi 1992, 23–24).

[37] Including the 'royal hero' combating a lion scene; king in a chariot scene; and a standing

Fig. 16. Gold Daric, minted in western Asia Minor. Obverse: Bearded male, draped, with crown, right, running; left hand: bow; right hand: spear. 'Great King' or 'Royal Archer'. Reverse: Incuse punch. Date: Late 5th or early 4th century BCE. British Museum, CM 1919-05-16-16. Photograph © The Trustees of the British Museum.

sisted of an owl—a clear allusion to Athenian coins again. (Fig. 15) However, the Tyrian owl is executed in a distinctly different style and is supplemented with attributes—a crook and flail.[38] Thus the Phoenician cities made use of symbols and styles from the coinage and seals of the economically and politically influential states at the time, freely adapting them and combining them with elements and styles meaningful to themselves.

It is in this context that we should understand the creation of the image of Melqart on the obverse of Tyre's coins in the fourth century. It is difficult not to see this image as an adaptation of the running Persian 'royal archer' found on the gold Daric coins introduced by the Achaemenid king Dareios that circulated in the western empire at this time. (Fig. 16) The Melqart figure itself echoes the Persian figure quite clearly: male, advancing right, with long beard, hair bound in a chignon, torso front, face in profile, holding a bow in the left hand. As in the case of the owl on the reverse, this image by no means attempts to copy precisely, but has been adapted to fit the Phoenician context: the dress is different and the Tyrian figure holds the reins in his right hand, whereas the Persian figure holds a spear and wears a crown. But the

archer; see Élayi and Élayi 2004, 493–534, for a thorough description and analysis of the use of these images in Sidonian coinage.

38 Élayi and Élayi 2010, 253–258.

attribute of the bow—a prominent and established symbol of Achaemenid kingship—and its placement in the composition makes the reference clear, and is fitting for Melqart in his capacity of king-god. The action of the Persian image and its symbolic meaning are retained as well. The running stance of the Persian royal personage—symbolizing Persian military dominance and constant defense of its empire and thus cosmic order[39]—is replaced in the Tyrian version by the flying seahorse, symbolizing Tyrian prowess over its domain—the sea.

Melqart, Herakles, Lion, and Club: From Alexander to Hannibal

Alexander's conquest of Tyre brought a change in denomination (to the Attic standard), but not in imagery, at least not right away.[40] The most common tetradrachm minted in the Eastern Mediterranean under Alexander and after his death featured Herakles with lion-skin helmet on the obverse and seated Zeus on the reverse. While this type was produced by various mints around the Eastern Mediterranean before Alexander's death, it was produced at Tyre only after the reopening of the mint by Antigonos in 307.[41] Once the Ptolemies took firm hold of the region in the late 280s, production of the Herakles tetradrachms was discontinued, replaced later by Ptolemaic dynastic issues.

This type, particularly the posthumous issues, has long been remarked upon for its clear affinities to Alexander's portraiture, such that it is sometimes described as a portrait of the conqueror 'in the guise of Herakles'. In the case of the examples from Tyre, scholars seem satisfied just to label it simply as 'Head of Herakles' or 'Head of Melqart'. So is this image intended to be Alexander himself, Greek Herakles, or a 'Hellenized' Melqart?

Likely, Antigonos and Demetrios chose the 'Herakles with lion-skin helmet' image for the Tyrian mint for the same reason they and the other successors chose it for the numerous other mints producing this type—it had been Alexander's symbol. Presumably, then, it was intended to represent that (i.e. Alexander's) idea of Herakles. But how the people viewed such an image, in Tyre or elsewhere, is a different matter. In this respect we should

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39 Stronach 1989, esp. 266–278.

40 *BMC Phoenicia*, cxxix.

41 Lemaire 1976; Merker 1974. After Antigonos' demise, the mint continued operation under his son Demetrios Poliorketes, who replaced Alexander's name on the reverse with his own.

recall that Alexander himself is represented posthumously in such a guise, that is, with lion-skin helmet, on the famous sarcophagus from Sidon. That this image—idealizing, strong young male with lion-skin helmet—could have multiple associations for a Phoenician audience is entirely possible and perhaps even likely. As observed by others, Alexander's associations with Herakles certainly impacted the reception and perception of the god in the East generally.[42] That this extended to the Melqart-Herakles syncretism in the early Hellenistic period is likewise suggested, but not by evidence of Levantine origin. Rather, the first place where the Alexander-Herakles type turns up in a city mint that had a strong affiliation to Melqart—but was *not* controlled by a Macedonian general—is in the western Phoenician realm.

The Punic cities of Sicily began minting in the fifth century, with the Carthaginians following suit with their own mints on Sicily by the end of the fifth century, on models established by the nearby Greek and Elymian cities.[43] From that point through the end of the fourth century, whenever a human figure is depicted, it is almost always a female head surrounded by dolphins, variously identified as a nymph or Arethusa or Tanit (the latter identification most commonly made in the case of Carthaginian issues). One relevant and notable exception is found in the mint of Rosh Melqart ('Cape of Melqart'), depicting the laureate head of a male with short hair and cropped beard, sporting an earring, in archaizing Greek style.[44] (Fig. 17) The divinity is typically identified as Melqart, reasonably so, given the name of the settlement; we should note the absence of any Heraklean attributes.

Around 300 BCE, a new obverse type emerges amongst the Carthaginian coins minted in Sicily: head of 'Herakles' with lion-skin helmet, clearly modeled on the Alexander types produced during his reign and immediately after, and presumably intended in this context to represent Melqart.[45] As Jenkins and others have observed, it is surely no coincidence that this Alexander-Heraklean image appears at the same time or soon after the Carthaginians' decisive defeat of the Syracusans and Agathokles' adoption of the title of *basileus* in 304. This was a clever bit of political iconographic one-upmanship on the part of Punes—to replace a Syracusan model with

42 Bonnet 1992, 167–172.

43 Jenkins 1971 and 1974, 24–26; see also Prag 2011.

44 Jenkins 1971, 55, *Ršmlqrt* 1, pl. 15,1. The location of Rosh Melqart is uncertain.

45 Specifically, it is modeled on Alexander types from mints at Alexandria, Macedon, Sidon, and Tarsos; Alexander issues have turned up in hoards at Carthage. See Jenkins 1978, 5–10. For the cult of Melqart in Carthage, see Lipinski 1995, 235.

Fig. 17. Silver shekel, minted in Ršmlqrt (Sicily). Obverse: Head of Melqart. Date: Late 4th century BCE. British Museum, 1874, 0714.99. Photograph © The Trustees of the British Museum.

that of the great Macedonian general.[46] These Carthaginian Melqart issues were distributed liberally throughout Sicily, to judge by their presence in hoards in locations such as Cefalù, Selinous, Syracuse, Gela, and Megara Hyblaia.[47] The adoption of the head with lion-skin had little to do with a purposeful 'Hellenization' of the god Melqart and his cult, but everything to do with the Carthaginians appropriating the imagery of the current dominant powers in the East in order to send a message in a language the Syracusans and other inhabitants of Sicily would understand. In this way it parallels the development of Tyrian and Phoenician coinage in the fifth and fourth centuries, which, as we have seen above, appropriated and manipulated the imagery of contemporary foreign powers to promote an image of economic and military strength.

This is not to say that such an appropriation does not have ramifications for the Melqart-Herakles connection. As already noted, Alexander's adop-

46 Jenkins 1978, 10; Prag 2011.
47 Jenkins 1978, 55–56.

tion of Herakles' identity surely had the reciprocal effect of changing the characterization and perception of Herakles, and thus Melqart himself, inasmuch as the Phoenicians bought into the connections made between their hero and the Greek one. It is likely that Alexander's promotion of Herakles made the Melqart-Herakles connection more attractive to the Phoenicians; we can only speculate.[48] But what is clear is that there are no representations of Tyrian Melqart with specifically 'Heraklean' attributes on the coins of Tyre or her Punic colonies before Alexander popularized this type.[49]

Carthage stopped minting this series ca. 289, but the Herakles/Melqart coin image continued to have potency in the western Mediterranean for the next century. It was adopted first by the Punic cities of Spain (most prominently by the Tyrian colony of Gadir, known for its ancient temple to the god of its mother city). Melqart imagery was also employed by the Barcids in their Spanish mints during their expansion on the peninsula and subsequent war with Rome.[50] The Barcid coinage features a laureate male head on the obverse, either young and beardless or older and bearded, with varying level of detail and individualization. Some of these heads, bearded and beardless alike, are depicted with a club over the left shoulder—hence the identification of Herakles or Melqart. Robinson has argued that these images are intended as thinly veiled portraits of Hannibal (beardless) or his father Hamilcar (bearded), but this is speculative.[51]

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[48] See Bonnet 1992, 176–177, for a fuller discussion of the relationship between Tyre, Alexander, and Melqart.

[49] I exclude here the fifth and fourth century coinage of Kition, which include two 'Herakles' types: Herakles advancing r. with bow (common), and head of Herakles, r., with lion-skin helmet (rare before time of Alexander III), which some suggest are evidence of the Herakles-Melqart syncretism. But the situation on Cyprus seems to be more complex than in the other areas, and there is some doubt about equivalence between Cypriot Melqart and Tyrian Melqart as well as about the use of 'Heraklean' imagery. We know of dedications to an 'Eshmoun-Melqart' at Kition. We also know that the inhabitants of Larnaka made a connection between Poseidon and their Melqart (Lipinski 1995, 233). Derek Counts (2008, 10) likewise notes that 'Heraklean' iconography in Cyprus is employed in votive objects found in sanctuaries of Reshef and Apollo. Thus, I am tempted to follow Lipinski's conclusion, 'ces syncrétismes font douter que l'iconographie héraklêenne, attestée à Chypre dans un context parfois phénicien dès le VIe siècle, se rapporte vraiment au dieu tyrien' (1995, 233). The syncretism between various gods that is going on at Cyprus goes well beyond simply Melqart and Herakles; any full treatment is outside the scope of this article. Whatever the interplay of syncretism and imagery among various gods on Cyprus, it seems to be happening independent of Tyre and the Punic colonies.

[50] For the Punic coinage of Spain, see Villaronga 1973.

[51] Robinson 1956.

Portrait or not, the allusion to Herakles/Melqart is clear, and held significance in the contemporary political context of the later third century in the western Mediterranean, given the importance of Melqart at Punic centers such as Gadir and of Herakles/Hercules for Roman ideas about their cultural origins. By employing an image of the god of their ancestors in the manner of the Hellenistic generals and exploiting the connection between Melqart and Herakles—and also Hercules—the Barcids might have hoped to win the hearts and minds of the residents of Spain and Italy while at the same time undermining some of the mythology that formed the foundation of Rome's ties with the western Greeks.[52] Rome responded in turn; among its counter efforts was the establishment of a temple to Venus Erycina in 215, a 'romanized' version of the cult of Astarte worshipped at the former Carthaginian city of Eryx, on Sicily, which was taken by the Romans during the First Punic War and successfully defended against the efforts of Hannibal's father, Hamilcar Barca, to retake it.[53] Rome also, after 211, started employing images of Hercules wearing a lion-skin or boar-skin helmet on coins, issued at mints in the former Carthaginian strongholds of Sardinia and Sicily.[54]

So the 'middle ground' that Melqart and Herakles occupied in Archaic Sicily was perpetuated in the Hellenistic/Republican period, transforming as the political context shifted. It was given new life by the ambitious and larger-than-life personalities of the late fourth and third centuries, such as Alexander and Hannibal. It now included the Romans, their ambitions, and their vision of their own Herculean origins. With the development of coinage as a vehicle for identity and message, the idea and image of the god was turned into a symbol used to express military power and divine right, using visual vocabulary that resonated across several cultures and languages.

But did this Classical, Herakles-style depiction of Melqart, embraced by minters and brandished by the Barcids, have wider significance in Phoenician culture? As it was employed in coins abroad and not in Carthage after 289, this might suggest that its adoption was intended primarily for its outward propagandistic usefulness for the Barcid clan and its legibility among different cultural groups rather than a reflection of how Carthaginians in general preferred to visualize Melqart. It also cannot be coincidental that

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[52] Hannibal's use and abuse of Hercules/Herakles/Melqart has been well studied; see most recently Miles 2011, Rawlings 2005, and Briquel 2004 with references.

[53] Livy 22.9; Miles 2011, 276–277.

[54] Crawford 1974, types 56/5 (Rome), 72/7, 69/5 (Sicily), 65/5 (Sardinia); see also type 20 for earlier (260s BCE) Roman issues featuring Hercules.

the Punic mints in Spain ceased to include the club and laurel wreath in their coin images of Melqart after Hannibal's departure.[55] Their absence could suggest that these attributes—and the Greek mythological narrative they symbolize—had little meaning for local residents, and were employed by the Barcids only to communicate across cultures.

However, there is evidence besides the coins that Graeco-Italian Heraklean imagery comes to be more widely embraced at Carthage itself. Three engraved bronze razors from tombs in a necropolis of Carthage, dated to the third century BCE, feature images of the god. One has a more traditional depiction—beard, tiara/headdress, fenestrated axe on the shoulder. The other two feature new imagery: seated or standing figure with lion-skin, club, along with a hunting dog; this iconography is well attested on Sicilian and southern Italian coins.[56] We can only speculate as to the reasons for choosing one image type over another. However, on the reverse of one of the blades with the Hellenizing imagery is the depiction of a male figure—and, more importantly, what appear to be a quail and a plant. These two items figure in one version of Melqart/Tyrian Herakles' death and resurrection—a mythology with origins in Levantine rituals and tradition but that spread and evolved across the Mediterranean. In this version, which places the event of Melqart/Herakles' death and rebirth in North Africa, the hero is slain by the Libyan Typhon and roused back to life by his friend Iolaos, by the scent of the roast quail.[57] The juxtaposition here of recently adopted Graeco-Italian imagery with Phoenician mythical tradition transformed on the same object serves as an important reminder that the adoption of foreign iconography is not necessarily detrimental or contradictory to older beliefs and rituals.

At Tyre itself, the evidence is spottier. Following the wars of the successors, the Tyrian mint was taken over by first the Ptolemies and subsequently the Seleukids. The coins minted at Tyre are done so at the behest of these dynasties, featuring the heads of the rulers (both deceased and living) on the obverse. Melqart makes his way back onto the coins from 126/125 BCE onwards, following the Tyrians' murder of the beleaguered Seleukid dynast Demetrios II and their declaration of independence from the Seleukid

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55 Rawlings 2005, 171.

56 Bonnet 1997, nos. 7, 24, 25.

57 As recorded in various later Greek sources, e.g. Ath. 392d and Zen., *Cent.* V56. See Bonnet 1988, 220–222. The male figure has been variously identified as Iolaos (companion of Herakles who appears in the Greek telling of the story) or as a Punic deity—Sid or Baal Hammon.

Fig. 18. Silver shekel, minted in Tyre. Obverse: Laureate head of Melqart with lion's skin knotted around the neck. Reverse: Eagle standing, left; right foot, on beak of a ship; above, right, palm branch; in field, left, date and club. Date: 1st century BCE. British Museum, 1909,0304.3. Photograph © The Trustees of the British Museum.

kingdom. The new civic coinage of Tyre reverts to the shekel standard, and the silver coinage features an unbearded male head, with thick neck and laureate crown on the obverse; on the reverse is an eagle with palm-branch and club—a likely holdover from the Ptolemaic and Seleukid era coinage.[58] (Fig. 18) In some issues (but not all) the deity wears a lion skin tied around the neck. This type continues well into the Imperial period, to the end of the second century CE.[59]

The deity on this coin is generally understood to be Melqart/Herakles for similar reasons as in the case of the fourth century coins. It is a fairly generic and classicizing rendering, well within the tradition of Hellenistic representation. The question that follows is this: is the visualization of Tyre's principal god in Hellenizing style, together with attributes taken from the Greek tradition of Herakles (the club and lion skin), plus the knowledge that Melqart is referred to as Herakles in Greek texts and Greek inscriptions, evidence that by the end of the second century BCE there was a fundamental change of the cult, either in its practices or how the Tyrians (and Carthaginians) viewed their divinity?

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[58] *BMC Phoenicia*, pp. 233–269 (Tyre, nos. 44–366); pls. 29–32.

[59] Along with issues featuring a veiled or turreted head of a female deity, usually identified as Tyche.

I have suggested above that in the Phoenician/Punic visualizations of Tyrian Melqart, especially on the coins, there has been an established pattern of appropriating foreign images of power. The images on the bronze razors from Carthage could simply reflect current fashion, or could indicate something more. But here, in these late Hellenistic coin issues, was a chance for the Tyrians to craft their own image and message, independent of any Hellenistic power or dynasty. That they reverted to the shekel standard instead of retaining the tetradrachm, after killing the Seleukid ruler Demetrios, suggests that they had a statement to make. So it is noteworthy that they not only chose to continue with a Greek-style image of their city-god, but also employed attributes from the Greek traditions about that god. Was this type with its symbols chosen for its legibility across a multi-cultural spectrum of people in the Eastern Mediterranean—the Tyrians employing a vocabulary from the visual *koine* of the Hellenistic East for the purposes of universal communication? Or is it an indication that the Tyrians embraced Greek traditions and mythology concerning their god? And if so, can this be construed as evidence of the gradual diminishing of local culture resulting from the embrace of Hellenism(s)?

A surviving non-coin image of Hellenistic date serves to highlight the difficulty at arriving at a conclusion. Incised on the obverse of an ivory token found in the vicinity of Tyre and dated to the first century BCE is a bearded visage of 'Herakles' in a distinctively un-Greek highly stylized manner.[60] According to the analytical method that has become common in studies in the Graeco-Roman East, one might be tempted to label this image as representative of the non-hellenized, perhaps less urban individual, whereas the better known coin image reflects the urban taste of 'hellenized' Tyre. However, on the reverse of this plaque is the following Greek inscription: ἱ(ερά) Ἡρακλῆ(ς) ἅ(σθλος). This would seem to answer Erlich's earlier question of whether or not we can label a non-Greek-style effigy with a Greek divine name: we certainly can. This does not resolve the issue, except to warn us against presumptions about the relationship between artistic style, language, and culture. The complex relationship between these three elements in a colonial situation such as this is all the more clear if we pursue the evidence into the Roman period.

[60] Gubel 1986, 239 no. 277; Lipinski 1995, 232. Gubel dates the piece to the second century CE, but Lipinski suggests a date in the first century BCE.

Cultural Affinity and Distinctiveness in the Imperial Period: From Tyrian Herakles to Hercules Gaditanus

The head of 'Herakles' in Hellenistic and later Roman style remains the principal type for the obverse of Tyrian coins well into the second century CE, when Tyre was made a colony with Italian rights in the reign of Septimius Severus. The coinage from this period until Gallienus shows a great variety of types, including a greater range of apparently Graeco-Roman-looking divinities as well as symbols representing great legends of Tyre's past. Belonging to the latter group is a number of bronze coins that feature on the reverse two round-topped stones/stelae, sometimes on a single base, either flanked by or flanking an olive tree.[61] On some issues, the stones/stelae are in the background, with a naked Herakles-figure holding a club and lion-skin and making a dedication in the foreground.[62] The legends on some of these coins tell us that these refer to the Ambrosial rocks from the myth of Tyre's founding by Herakles as reported in Nonnos.[63] In this respect, these scenes simply form part of a thematic series celebrating Tyre's mythical early history—a series that also includes the various exploits of Kadmos (including giving the alphabet to the Greeks) and Dido building Carthage.[64]

However, in many depictions of these scenes the 'rocks' are actually depicted as cut stelae, and so recall the Herodotos' description of two stelae in gold and emerald that formed the focal point of the Tyrian sanctuary (2.44), as well as that by Philostratos (*VA* 5.5) of the dual stelae at the sanctuary of Hercules Gaditanus at the Phoenician colony of Gadir (modern Cadiz) in Spain. The presence of the olive tree as well as an incense burner seems to suggest that these scenes are a depiction of the Tyrian sanctuary itself.[65] The images on these coins, along with other images of 'aniconic' objects (of conical or ovoid shape) featured on contemporary coins of other

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[61] *BMC Phoenicia* nos. 429–430 (Gordian III), 442 (Trebonianus Galus); Bijovsky 2005, figs. 1–2, 6–7 (reigns of Elagabal, Julia Maesa, Gordian III, and Trebonianus Gallus, respectively. From the N. Shahaf Collection in Jerusalem).

[62] *BMC Phoenicia* no. 427 (reign of Gordian III); Bijovsky 2005, figs. 3–4 (reigns of Valerian and Elagabal. From the N. Shahaf Collection in Jerusalem).

[63] Legends on the coins: ΑΜΒΡΟΣΙΕ ΠΕΤΡΕ or ΠΕΤΡΑΙ or ΠΑΙΤΡΕ. See *BMC Phoenicia*, 218 and Bijovsky 2005, 829. In the *Dionysiaca* (40.465–500), Nonnos describes an encounter he had with Melqart who tells him the story of Tyre's founding, which involved harnassing two floating rocks which would become the literal foundation for the city.

[64] *BMC Phoenicia*, nos. 425–426, 434, 469, 486–469 (Kadmos); nos. 440, 447, 470 (Dido).

[65] Bijovsky 2005, 829–831; Mettinger 1995, 96–98.

Levantine and Cypriot cities (Byblos, Sidon, Paphos) in this same period,[66] have been put forward as evidence of aniconic cult practices in the ancient Levant, and thus of continuity of non-Greek, local religious traditions.[67]

Can we take these images in some sort of literal sense—that what is represented reflects current cultic practice? And if so, should we regard these coins as evidence of continuity of local Phoenician, non-Greek cultic practices (specifically aniconic or 'betyl' worship), and thus evidence that the cult of Melqart and the nature of the god himself was not as 'fused' as is commonly assumed, at least in the eyes of the Tyrians? But if the dual stelae remained a crucial part of the cult of Melqart (or 'Tyrian Herakles' as he is referred to in Imperial Greek literature, see below), why do they appear on the coins only now?

Iconism and Anthropomorphism in the Temple of Hercules at Gadir

The principal issue at hand is the nature and meaning of the 'aniconic' objects portrayed. In this respect, the sanctuary of Hercules Gaditanes at Gadir (in Latin/Greek *Gades*), for which we have more specific information than the sanctuary of Tyre, is highly relevant. Located on the southwest tip of Spain, Gadir enjoyed fame across the Mediterranean in the Hellenistic and Roman periods both for the spectacle of the Atlantic tides as well as its ancient and revered sanctuary. According to tradition, the site was one of Tyre's earliest colonies, to which the colonists brought the holy 'relics' of Hercules from their mother city.[68] No remains of the temple have yet been found, but the sanctuary and cult is known from the descriptions in various Imperial-era literary sources.[69] A connection between the sanctuary of Hercules at Gadir and that of Tyrian Melqart at Tyre, as preserved in our sources, has been noted by several scholars.[70] Tryggve Mettinger in

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[66] Paphos: Stewart 2008, fig. 2 and p. 304, with references. Sidon: *BMC Phoenicia* 165–167, nos. 196–203; 181, nos. 225–228; 184, no. 243, and pls. 23–25. Byblos: *BMC Phoenicia* pl. 12, no. 13.

[67] E.g. Mettinger 1995, esp. 95–98, 103–109. See also Millar 1993, 10–13, 277, 419. For 'baetyls' and the traditional idea of Graeco-Roman iconism *vs*. Near Eastern aniconism see the critical discussions of Gaifman 2008 and Stewart 2008, with bibliography.

[68] Just. *Epit*. 18.4.15; 44.5.2; Pompon. 3.46. For Melqart/Herakles/Hercules in the western Mediterranean generally, see Aubet 2001, 150–158, 195–197, 273–279; Jourdain-Annequin 1992b and 1989. For Hercules Gaditanus specifically, see García y Bellido 1967, 152–166, and 1963.

[69] Of which the most significant are Strabo 3.5; Sil. *Pun*. 3.14–44; Philostr. *VA* 5.4–5. For a thorough discussion of the sources and possible reconstructions of this sanctuary see Mierse 2004 and García y Bellido 1963.

[70] Bijovsky 2005, 831; Mierse 2004; Mettinger 1995, 89; Bonnet 1988, 219.

particular has drawn attention to the cult of Hercules Gaditanus both as an example of Phoenician aniconism and as an echo of the Tyrian cult; as such, it is worth reviewing the evidence here.[71]

In book three of the *Punica*, Silius Italicus has Hannibal visit the city of Gades following the sacking of Saguntum to make sacrifices to Hercules. Silius describes the characteristics of the cult (3.21–31), which are typically Semitic: women are forbidden to enter the inner shrine; no pigs allowed; priests are celibate, wear linen, and go barefoot with heads clean-shaven. He mentions altars that have perpetual flames, and makes this significant observation (3.30–32):

> sed nulla effigies simulacrave nota deorum
> maiestate locum et sacro implevere timore.
> In foribus labor Alcidae [...]
>
> *But no likenesses or customary images of the gods*
> *filled the place with majesty and sacred awe.*
> *The labors of Alcides were on the doors*[...]

Silius goes on to describe these depictions of Hercules' triumphs on the doors of the sanctuary, which were probably in bronze.[72] The observation that there were no traditional cult images is repeated in Philostratos' biography of the first century Pythagorean Apollonios of Tyana, written in the early third century CE. Reference to the sanctuary comes at the beginning of book five, when Apollonios and his pupils travel from Rome to Spain to observe the tides. Philostratos claims to be relying on the letters of Apollonios himself as well as the diary of one Apollonios' followers, Damis. If true, then the description may reflect the sanctuary in the first century CE:[73]

> In the sanctuary it is said that both Herakles are honored, but they have no statues, rather altars—for the Egyptian there are two, bronze and without mark, and one for the Theban. It is said that the Hydras and the horses of Diomedes and the twelve deeds of Herakles are modeled in relief and that these are in stone [...] (*Damis says*) that the stelae in the sanctuary are made of gold and silver fused together, that they are over a cubit and square in form, like anvils, and on the top are inscribed letters, neither Egyptian or Indian, nor any such that could be guessed.[74]

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71 Mettinger 1995, 86–90.

72 Based on the vocabulary that Silius uses—*caelantur* (Mierse 2004, 551).

73 Mierse 2004, 551–554.

74 Philostrat. *VA* 5.5: ἐν δὲ τῷ ἱερῷ τιμᾶσθαι μὲν ἄμφω τὼ Ἡρακλέε φασίν, ἀγάλματα δὲ αὐτοῖν οὐκ εἶναι, βωμοὺς δὲ τοῦ μὲν Αἰγυπτίου δύο χαλκοῦς καὶ ἀσήμους, ἕνα δὲ τοῦ Θηβαίου. τὰς δὲ ὕδρας τε καὶ τὰς Διομήδους ἵππους, καὶ τὰ δώδεκα Ἡρακλέους ἔργα ἐκτετυπῶσθαί φασι καὶ ταῦτα, λίθου

Fig. 19. Gold aureus, minted in Rome. Obverse: Laureate head of Hadrian, right. Reverse: Hercules standing right, resting right arm on club and holding apple in left hand; on left, prow; on right, river-god reclining left. Reverse inscription: HERC GADIT. Date: 119–122 CE. British Museum, 1864, 1128.269. Photograph © The Trustees of the British Museum.

Philostratos and Silius Italicus diverge in certain respects—suggestive that they are relying on different sources—but they agree on one thing: there was no iconic cult image; in fact, there were no statues at all. Mettinger interprets the dual stelae as the principal symbols of the god (which he refers to as 'aniconic iconography'), thus making the cult at Gades an example of his category of 'material aniconism'.[75]

However, a gold *aureus* minted under Hadrian shows on the reverse a standing figure of Hercules Gaditanus (as indicated by the legend), fashioned in a typically Greek Heraklean way—naked, with club, holding an apple in his left hand, with a river-god reclining beneath him.[76] (Fig. 19) What

ὄντα [...] τὰς δὲ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ στήλας χρυσοῦ μὲν πεποιῆσθαι καὶ ἀργύρου ξυντετηκότοιν ἐς ἓν χρῶμα, εἶναι δὲ αὐτὰς ὑπὲρ πῆχυν τετραγώνου τέχνης, ὥσπερ οἱ ἄκμονες, ἐπιγεγράφθαι δὲ τὰς κεφαλὰς οὔτε Αἰγυπτίοις οὔτε Ἰνδικοῖς γράμμασιν, οὔτε οἵοις ξυμβαλεῖν.

75 Mettinger 1995, 19 and 113; cf. Garcia y Bellido 1967, 159. However, whether these stelae were simply monuments of an event (founding of the city) or the principal objects of religious veneration in the sanctuary, either at Gadir or Tyre, is not at all clear.

76 Mattingly 1925, 213, no. 8; *BMCRE* 273, nos. 274–276: 119/122 CE, Rome mint. Both Hadrian and Trajan minted a number of coins with the image of Hercules standing, sometimes within a tetrastyle temple, on the reverse; see Mattingly 1925, nos. 9–11; *BMCRE* 3, nos. 81–83, pl. 10, 14–16 and nos. 97–99, pl. 48: 117/118 CE. Although often identified as Hercules Gaditanus (assuming that his presence is a reflection of the emperor's Spanish identity), as these issues are not labeled as such, caution is warranted.

is the significance of this image for understanding the cult? It has been suggested that since there is a clear record of iconography for Melqart, and a hellenized one at that, we should accept the coin images as evidence of the existence of a cult image of a syncretized Hercules-Melqart at Gades.[77] García y Bellido agrees, but only for the Greek aspect of the cult, which he argues would have required such an object. In this respect he embraces Philostratus' intimation of separate cultic practices for the two separate Herakles.[78] Mettinger, for his part, is more concerned with whether or not the cult was *originally* aniconic (he believes it was), but is willing to concede a cult statue in the imperial period.[79]

There are some assumptions underlying these positions that need to be reevaluated. We should recall first that an anthropomorphic object of worship is not a requirement for Greek cults, even if Roman authors find it so unusual as to remark upon it.[80] Second, the representation of a standing or seated deity on a coin is not necessarily either a representation of a cult statue or an intimation of the existence of such a statue. Of course we know that statues of Hercules in the poses depicted on the coins existed, and monuments and statues are frequently the inspiration for coin designs. That does not mean, however, that such a statue existed in Gadir, especially since the coins in question were not minted at Gadir but at Rome. As already noted, both Silius Italicus and Philostratos go out of their way to mention that there is no anthropomorphic statue (for *either* Herakles, in the case of Philostratos); it seems willful to embrace other parts of their descriptions and yet ignore that.

What is more significant for the question of Phoenician-Greek syncretism is Philostratos' separation of 'Herakles' into two gods with different traditions. This has parallel elsewhere in imperial literature.[81] Lucian, in his treatise on the Syrian goddess, goes out of his way to remind the reader that the Herakles of Tyre is not the same as the Herakles of the Greeks: 'the one I speak of is much older and a Tyrian hero'.[82] Arrian, in his lengthy narra-

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[77] Bonnet 1988, 213. Lipinski 1995 likewise sees the image on the coins as evidence that the cult 'n' était pas purement aniconique, comme le suggère Silius Italicus' (235 with n. 98).

[78] Garcia y Bellido 1967, 158, and 1963, 110–114.

[79] Mettinger 1995, 88.

[80] This is most eloquently explicated by Gaifman 2005, 1–28; see also Stewart 2008, 300–301.

[81] Although he has labeled the non-Theban Hercules as 'Egyptian', based on his description of the god in the passage cited above and earlier in his text (*VA* 5.4), it is clear that he means the god normally referred to as 'Tyrian Herakles'.

[82] Lucian *Syr. D.* 3: καὶ ἔστιν ἱρὰ καὶ ἐν Συρίῃ οὐ παρὰ πολὺ τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοισιν ἰσοχρονέοντα,

tive of Alexander the Great's infamous siege of Tyre, likewise distinguishes between the two and recognizes 'Tyrian Herakles' as older than 'Argive Herakles'. But even more revealing is that Arrian makes reference to a temple of Herakles in Iberia, almost assuredly referring to Gades, which he deduces must honor 'Tyrian Herakles, because [it] is a foundation of the Phoenicians, and the temple to Herakles was made according to the custom to the Phoenicians, as are the sacrifices'.[83]

Taken together—the descriptions of the sanctuary of Gades with its stelae and lack of cult statue, Arrian's testimony of a temple 'built in Phoenician fashion', Arrian and Silius Italicus' description of cult practices of Phoenician/Semitic characteristic, the differentiation between Argive and Tyrian Herakles in second century authors, and the appearance of the dual stelae on the coins of Tyre—this evidence seems, on the surface, to belie the notion that Tyrian Melqart assimilated to Greek Herakles. There is clear evidence of continuity with a pre-Hellenic cultic and mythological tradition. Further, Herakles in Greek tradition has many representations and attributes that are indicative of his mythological narrative. But of the many attributes found in the Greek artistic canon, the only ones we find in artistic representations in Phoenician contexts are the lion skin and club. The lion and club are also symbols with broad meanings of power and physical prowess across cultures, so we should hesitate to extrapolate from their presence in Phoenician material an adoption of the larger Hellenic Heraklean mythology.

As such, should we then conclude from this assortment of testimony and images and the appearance of aniconic objects on the coinage of Tyre and other Phoenician cities the persistence of a non contaminated, 'pure', semitic-based form of worship, characterized by its essentially aniconic nature? And that the Hellenizing images we find are more or less a veneer—employed to facilitate communication or reflective of fashion but of little substantive meaning for the nature of the cultic practices? That the two traditions and cults remained essentially separate entities?

τῶν ἐγὼ πλεῖστα ὄπωπα, τό γε τοῦ Ἡρακλέος τὸ ἐν Τύρῳ, οὐ τούτου τοῦ Ἡρακλέος τὸν Ἕλληνες ἀείδουσιν, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἐγὼ λέγω πολλὸν ἀρχαιότερος καὶ Τύριος ἥρως ἐστίν.

83 Arr. *Anab.* 2.16.4: Ὡς τόν γε ἐν Ταρτησσῷ πρὸς Ἰβήρων τιμώμενον Ἡρακλέα, ἵνα καὶ στῆλαί τινες Ἡρακλέους ὠνομασμέναι εἰσί, δοκῶ ἐγὼ τὸν Τύριον εἶναι Ἡρακλέα, ὅτι Φοινίκων κτίσμα ἡ Ταρτησσὸς καὶ τῷ Φοινίκων νόμῳ ὅ τε νεὼς πεποίηται τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ τῷ ἐκεῖ καὶ αἱ θυσίαι θύονται. Arrian actually says 'Tartessos', not 'Gades', but by this time Tartessos had long disappeared and it is not clear if it was ever anything more than a river, which is how it first appears in the Classical sources before it was transformed into a wonderful, magical realm of mythic proportions in later sources. By the imperial period, Tartessos is conflated and confused in the sources with the nearby Phoenician colony of Gadir. See Aubet 2001, 206.

Such conclusions would surely go too far in the other direction, and the 'either/or' dichotomy is a false one. Evidence of cultic continuity and the persistence of aniconic or non-anthropomorphic objects of veneration among the Phoenicians in the Imperial period do not preclude the adoption and adaptation of Graeco-Roman ideas and traditions. The aniconic component of the cult of Melqart is significant, but the lines between iconism, aniconism, and anthropomorphism are not sharply drawn in Phoenician worship and representation.[84] While there is evidence of aniconic worship, in the form of stone columns or pillars, there is also extensive evidence that the Phoenicians did conceive of their gods in anthropomorphic forms (as we have seen). These anthropomorphic renderings had a place in a cultic setting, even if they were perhaps not used as objects of veneration themselves. So in the case, for example, of the depiction of the Labors of Herakles at Gadir as mentioned in our sources—we do not have to presume that the Punes averted their gaze as they entered the temple.

Further, the third century CE coins from Tyre and elsewhere depicting non-anthropomorphic objects are demonstrative of the blending of traditions. As Peter Stewart has rightly pointed out, the very depiction of these 'aniconic' objects of cult on civic coinage puts them squarely in the category of iconic divine representations.[85] So even if they do reflect a type of cultic veneration that is different from much of Greek tradition, the iconic usage of these non-anthropomorphic objects certainly mirrors a Graeco-Roman approach to divine imaging.

We can employ a similar reasoning for the anthropomorphic image of Melqart on the coins. If the cultic practices of Tyrian Melqart were originally non-anthropomorphic rather than centering on a canonical type of cult image, this is perhaps what allowed for such flexibility in the way the god was visualized through different periods, from the Iron Age through the Hellenistic period. But by that same reasoning, the fact that the anthropomorphic image of the god, specifically his attributes—club and lion-skin—remained more or less static from the later Hellenistic period onwards, could suggest that the Tyrians bought into the idea of a canonical visualization of divine.

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[84] Mettinger 1995, 'Introduction' and 81–84. The debate largely rests on how one determines what objects belong in the category of 'aniconic'.

[85] Stewart 2008, 302–303.

Conclusions

To return to the questions and problems with which I began, I believe it is clear that we can effectively use images and the visualizations of the gods to inform our understanding of the complex processes of religious syncretism and intercultural exchange. But to make the best use of such images, understanding the full context behind their creation and adoption—inasmuch as that is possible—is crucial, as is the abandonment of restrictive dichotomies and assumptions about what a god should or should not look like.

This brief survey of the evidence in the case of Melqart, although not comprehensive, shows that even when we have substantial written evidence of the syncretic connection of two gods from two different traditions, the iconographic evidence is by no means straightforward. But by putting these various visualizations in their appropriate context, we are able to see more clearly the different levels of meaning that such images had as well as the complexity of cultural exchange in the increasingly 'globalized' ancient Mediterranean. We can see that the construction of images of the divine and their employment can be affected by modern politics as much as by tradition. We also observe how the categories of Near Eastern and Greek are not diametrically opposed, and that there is considerable fluidity between them. The Phoenicians could embrace Greek views (both intellectual and artistic) of their god while still maintaining their own traditions. We also are reminded that these processes of syncretism and adaptation are ongoing and in flux. This is especially clear in the testimonies of Arrian and Lucian, who felt a need to distinguish the Greek and Phoenician deities, even as a shared nomenclature and iconography persisted. The 'middle ground' established by the Greeks, Phoenicians and others for Herakles and Melqart seems, in one sense, to have been so effective that by the Imperial period, there is a almost a reversal of the process. This is perhaps not surprising in the context of a Mediterranean politically unified under the umbrella of Rome: common ground was all around; now there was a need to differentiate.

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THE SPREAD OF *POLIS* INSTITUTIONS IN HELLENISTIC CAPPADOCIA AND THE PEER POLITY INTERACTION MODEL[*]

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By integrating the methods and theories of the discipline of Cultural Studies recent research on cultural contacts in the ancient world has illustrated the complexity of these processes and showed, as Friedman rightly stresses, that 'cultures, as such, don't interact'.[1] 'Culture'—understood in a holistic way—is basically a construct, 'the conscious reification of ideas, beliefs, values, attitudes and practices, selectively extracted from the totality of social existence and endowed with a particular symbolic signification for the purposes of creating exclusionary distinctiveness' by different groups within a society.[2] Thus, it is neither an autonomous nor a static entity and 'has no historical reality' but exists only through the diverse practices and artefacts of cultural actors.[3] Concerning the analysis of cultural transfer processes it is, therefore, essential to search for the concrete channels of contact, i.e. its agents and its historical context, if one seeks to understand which meanings were attached to new ideas or objects that were appropriated by the receiving societies.[4] Although specific social groups and especially their self-perception—their 'social imaginaries'—often elude us due to the scarcity of sources, the basic conception of the framework of culture contact, that is, the interrelations between producers, transmitters and recipients, as well as the possible use of power in this context, is of the greatest importance for the evaluation of cultural exchange.[5]

As far as the Hellenistic world is concerned, for a long time the view of an intentional policy of Hellenization pursued by the large royal houses and their Graeco-Macedonian ruling class in succession to the alleged plans of

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[1] Friedman 1996, 24.

[2] Hall 2004, 45–46.

[3] Ulf 2009, 84; cf. Kistler and Ulf 2012 on the concept of 'kulturelle(r) AkteurIn'.

[4] Ulf 2009, 82–84, 90–91.

[5] Ulf 2009, 83, cf. also the model on p. 87.

Alexander the Great predominated as an explanatory framework for the 'Hellenization of the East'.[6] However, on the basis of new sources and more sophisticated methods for analyzing cultural change taking into account the agencies of the indigenous actors as well as critically reflecting on the potentials and limits of investigating the textual and material evidence, this picture has shifted significantly over the last decades.[7] Recent studies point rather to the active role of the non-Greek populations in the cultural transfer processes, and, instead of claiming a general 'Verschmelzung' of West and East, emphasize the heterogeneity of the Hellenistic world visible not the least in its material culture.[8] It is of interest why and under what specific circumstances non-Greeks adopted certain elements of Hellenic culture (which, of course, itself underwent significant changes in this period), especially in those parts of the Hellenistic world where no Macedonians ruled. For in such areas, there was—at least in the beginning—no Graeco-Macedonian 'Leitkultur' which could have urged itself on ambitious or even reluctant natives. This was also the case for the kingdom of Cappadocia on which this paper concentrates.

Like its northern neighbour, the kingdom of Pontos, Cappadocia emerged from the Persian satrapy Katpatuka.[9] Having come under Macedonian rule in the time of the Diadochi, parts of Cappadocia were ruled first by the Antigonids, then by the Seleukids.[10] By the middle of the third century, however, the descendants of the erstwhile satraps had managed to establish themselves in Cappadocia as increasingly independent rulers. Eventually, the Seleukids recognized them, and Ariarathes III was the first member of the dynasty to assume the title of *basileus*.[11] Although the Ariarathids

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6 On Alexander as a champion of Hellenization cf. Briant 2005. Brodersen 2001 still regards the city foundations of the Seleukids as an instrument of Hellenization, but cf. Cohen 1995, 66–70 and Austin 1999, 138–162.

7 Cf., for example, the collection of essays in Weber 2010.

8 On Greeks and non-Greeks in the Seleukid and Ptolemaic empires and the absence of an intentional policy of Hellenization cf. the overview by Klinkott 2007; Gehrke 2008, 173–174, 188–193. On the relevance and diversity (Greek, non-Greek, and hybrid) of Hellenistic 'art' cf. Rotroff 1997.

9 Cf. Weiskopf 1990, 782; Jacobs 1994, 140–142; Debord 1999, 23–29, 83–110, on the separation of the satrapy into two parts, perhaps under Artaxerxes III, reported by Strabo 12.1.4; Polyb. fr. 54, cf. Debord 1999, 107–110; Briant 2002, 741–743; cf. also Panichi 2007. Sofou 2005 doubts the historicity of the separation, which is only mentioned by Strabo.

10 Brodersen 1989, 123–124.

11 On the establishment of the Ariarathids see Schmitt and Nollé 2005, 519–520, and the Pauly-Wissowa articles by Niese 1910 and Judeich 1942 on the individual rulers (stemma in Schmitt and Nollé 2005, 517–518).

soon followed the example of Hellenistic kingship on an international level, within their realm they presented themselves as standing in the tradition of the Persian kings.[12] This corresponded to the cultural imprint of their domain, for Achaemenid rule had apparently resulted in a profound Iranization of Cappadocia that persisted in the Hellenistic period.[13] As in Pontos, this is illustrated by the wide spread of Iranian cults and the continuing importance of temple-states, part of which had existed long before the Persian conquest.[14] A 'feudal' organisation seems still to have been characteristic for Hellenistic Cappadocia, for we can grasp the very strong position of its Iranian nobles, who controlled their estates from strongholds.[15] The settlement pattern of Cappadocia that was divided into ten strategies was dominated by villages with only a few indigenous cities in between.[16] It came rather as a surprise, therefore, when a late Hellenistic inscription from Cappadocian Hanisa became known which attests for this small town a fully-fledged *polis* constitution. In the following, the discussion of this text and the cultural change we can deduce from it will serve as the starting point on my search for the mediators of cultural transfer in the cities of Cappadocia. By employing the concept of peer polity interaction, I will then try to make plausible a horizontal discourse as an alternative to the still prevailing top-down model for the spread of Greek *polis* institutions in Cappadocia.

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12 Raditsa 1983, 111–112. On the strategies of the Mithradatids and Ariarathids to legitimize their position by stressing and constructing links to the Achaemenid and Satrapal past, see in detail Panitschek 1987–1988; Bosworth and Wheatly 1998 suspect that there is more substance behind the claims of the Mithradatids than has been hitherto acknowledged. On the 'international image' of the Ariarathids, see now Michels 2009, esp. 122–145. It becomes tangible primarily through their euergetism and their coinage.

13 The onomastic material from Hellenistic and Roman times illustrates this; cf. e.g. Robert 1963, 518–519; Mitchell 2007.

14 Strabo 12.2.9; 15.3.15; cf. Panichi 2000, 517–519; cf. also Franck 1966, 95–107 and the overview of Thierry 2002, 47–60. The high priest of the goddess Ma in Komana in Kataonia and the priest of the 'Zeus' of Venasa were ranked next to the king. The position, or rather title, 'second after the king' has been demonstrated to have clear Iranian—in particular Achaemenid—roots. Cf. Volkmann 1937; Benveniste 1966, 64–65; Raditsa 1983, 109. For a Persian fire altar found in Cappadocia cf. Bittel 1952.

15 The different types of strongholds are described by Strabo 12.2.1.6.9–10; cf. Panichi 2000, 520–521. On the Cappadocian nobility see Ballesteros Pastor 2006, 385; cf. Strabo 12.2.11. Its strong position and the relative weakness of the king become tangible during the internal conflicts of the late Ariarathid and Ariobarzanid dynasties. The last Cappadocian king Archelaos, who was installed by Antonius, never overcame the inner Cappadocian opposition.

16 Jones 1971, 178–179; Teja 1980, 1103; Mitchell 1993, vol. 2, 97–98. On the administrative division into ten strategies that probably followed Achaemenid organisation, see Sofou 2005, 756–761; cf. Panichi 2000, 525–526.

The Civic Decree from Hanisa

The inscription was found in the vicinity of Kültepe, 20 km northeast of Mazaka, modern Kayseri.[17] It was engraved on a bronze tablet 44.7 cm high and 32.5 cm wide which was acquired by the Berliner Antikensammlung in 1879 but was regrettably lost in the wake of the Second World War (Fig. 20).[18] The inscription records an honorary decree which Louis Robert dated to the late second or early first century BCE.[19] It attests the city of Hanisa, which is not mentioned in any literary sources but does appear on a bronze coin of the late third century to which I will return later (Fig. 21).[20] The decree is important on different levels when it comes to an appraisal of cultural transfer processes in Hellenistic Cappadocia. Therefore, I cite it in full:[21]

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17 *Monatsbericht der Königlich-Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin* (*MbBerlin*) 1880, 646–651; Michel, *Recueil* 546; see also the seminal commentary by Robert 1963, 457–523. The provenance of the bronze tablet was not secure at first and its origin was also located in Kommagene or northern Syria. The discussion by Robert 1963, 460–469 has answered this question, so it is not necessary to treat it here.

18 Formerly Antikensammlung Inv. Misc. 7459 (cf. s.v. http://www.smb.museum/antikebronzenberlin/index.htm). On the type of the bronze tablet, which in its function as a medium for a civic decree is singular in Asia Minor, cf. Curtius 1881; Robert 1963, 469–471 and 498–499. For a possible parallel in the decoration of the inscription with columns from Laodikeia-Nehavend in Iran, an edict of Antiochos III, cf. *SEG* 13.592.

19 Robert 1963, 479–482.

20 Regling 1935, 10–15 thought the coin from Hanisa, as well as coins from Tyana and Morima, were minted by local dynasts, but see Alram 1986, 57–59, who dates their production (and those of Kybistra) to the reign of Ariaramnes and Ariarathes III, cf. Simonetta 2007, 16, 42 with no. 8. Whether this coin is significant as a source for the evolution of a '*polis*' Hanisa is not clear. Regling 1935, 16 interpreted the coins carrying the names of Cappadocian cities as evidence for a right to mint and issue coins of these towns, which had been granted by the indigenous rulers with regard to the 'Freiheitsgefühle ihrer gewiß wenigen, aber einflußreichen griechischen Untertanen'. While Robert 1963, 483–486, rightfully dismissed this interpretation, as there is no evidence for these alleged Greek subjects, he nevertheless saw the minting of this coin as a reflection of an intermediate stage in the process of the development of a 'corps civique'. Cf. p. 486: 'Qu'un dynaste frappe des monnaies gravées selon l'art grec, qu'il y mette son nom ou le début de son nom en grec, cela ne témoigne que de l'hellénisation de dynaste lui-même et de sa cour. Mais que, associant à son nom celui d'une ville, il écrive en grec le nom de cette ville, c'est la preuve que cette ville et hellénisée ou s'hellénise'. But this interpretation seems doubtful, cf. Michels 2009, 222–224. Alram 1986, 57 sees the bronze coins from Tyana, Morima, and Hanisa (which disappear under Ariarathes IV) rather as evidence for a 'wohlorganisierte Münzwirtschaft'. The community's ethnic is mentioned in ll. 2 and 4 of the inscription (Ἀνίσοις, Ἀνισηνῶν). Robert (pp. 465–466) has shown that it is Hanisa, not Anisa, because the name probably evolved from the Assyrian *Kaniş*.

21 My translation follows (with modifications) that of Robert 1963, 471–472. Concerning the legibility of the text there are only minor problems, cf. the commentary of Robert 1963, 459–460. In l. 8 (ΜΕΤΑΚΑΙΕΤΕΡΩΝΟϹ), however, apparently one or several words were left out by the engraver. As Robert stresses, this is insofar relevant, as we cannot deduce from this phrase that there was a board of *archontes*.

Ἀγαθῆι Τύχηι. | Ἔτους ζʹ, μηνὸς Δίου, ἐν Ἀνίσοις, ἐπὶ | δημιουργοῦ Παπου τοῦ Βαλασωπου | ἔδοξεν Ἀνισηνῶν τῆι βουλῆι καὶ τῶι | δήμωι· πρυτανίων εἰπάντων· ἐπεὶ | Ἀπολλώνιος Αββατος ὑπάρχων ἀνὴρ καλὸς | κἀγαθὸς διατελεῖ περὶ τὸ ἡμέτερον πολίτευμα, | ἄρξας τε ἐν τῶι δ' ἔτει μετὰ καὶ ἑτέρων ⟨ - ⟩ος | καὶ ἀντιποιησάμενος τὴν Σινδηνοῦ τοῦ | Ἀπολωνίου ἀκληρο(νο)μήτου οὐσίαν, ὑποστη-σά|μενος δαπάνας τε καὶ κακοπαθίας, καλούμενος | ἐν Εὐσεβείαι ἐπὶ τὴν δικαιοδοσίαν ἐπί τε | Μηνοφίλου τοῦ Μαιδάτου ἀρχιδιοικητοῦ κα[ὶ] | Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Σασᾶι τοῦ ἐν Εὐσεβείαι ἐπὶ τῆς | πόλεως ὑπό τε Ανοπτηνου τοῦ Τειρεους τοῦ καὶ | ἀντιποιουμένου τὴν κληρονομίαν καὶ ἑτέρων | τινῶν πολιτῶν, οὐ προέδωκεν τὸν δῆμον, ἀλλὰ | σπουδὴν καὶ φιλοτιμίαν εἰσενεγκάμενος περι|εποίησεν τῶι δήμωι κατὰ ἀπόφασιν τὴν κληρο|νομίαν· δι' ὃ δεδόχθαι τῆι βουλῆι καὶ τῷ δήμωι· | μὴ ἀπαρασήμαντον ἐᾶσαι τὴν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς καλοκαγα|θίαν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὴν γεγενημένην ἐν βουλῆι καὶ ἐκλη|σίαι χειροτονίαν ὑπάρχειν αὐτὸν εὐεργέτην τοῦ | δήμου καὶ στεφανοῦσθαι ἔν τε τοῖς Διοσσωτηρίοις | καὶ Ἡρακλείοις καὶ ἐν ταῖς κατὰ μῆνα καὶ κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν | δημοτελέσι συνόδοις χρυσῶι στεφάνωι, τοῦ ἱερο|κήρυκος ἀναγορεύοντος κατὰ τάδε· Ὁ δῆμος | στεφανοῖ Ἀπολλώνιον Αββα εὐεργέτην χρυσῶι | σ(τ)εφάνωι τύχηι ἀγαθῆι· τοῦ δὲ ψηφίσματος τούτου | τὸ ἀντίγραφον ἀναγράψαντα εἰς πίνακα χαλκοῦν | ἀναθεῖναι ἐν τῶι προνάωι τοῦ τῆς Ἀστάρτης ἱεροῦ, | ὅπως ἂν και οἱ λοιποὶ θεωροῦντες τὸ τοῦ δήμου | εὐχάριστον πειρῶνται ἀεί τινος ἀγαθοῦ παραίτιοι | γίνεσθαι τῆι πόλει. | ἔδοξε.

Good fortune. In the seventh year, in the month Dios, in Hanisa, Papes, son of Balasopos, was *demiourgos*, resolved by the *boule* and the *demos* of the Hanisoi upon the request of the *prytaneis*: Since Apollonios, son of Abbas, having always been an excellent man for our community, when serving as *archon* in the fourth year, he—while providing other services—also enforced the claims (of the *demos*) to the property of Sindenos, son of Apollonios, who had died without heir, and, incurring expenses and troubles, he appealed in Eusebeia for a legal decision before Menophilos, son of Maidates, the *archidioiketes*, and Alexandros, son of Sasas [*or*: -ai?], the city governor of Eusebeia, against Anoptenes, son of Teires, who laid claim on the heritage and against certain other citizens, and he did not abandon the people but, showing diligence and love for honour, he secured the heritage for the people by the judgment; that it should be resolved by the *boule* and the *demos* that the excellence of this man shall not remain unappreciated but, according to the resolution of *boule* and *ekklesia*, that he is a benefactor of the people and shall be crowned with a golden wreath both at the festivals of Zeus Soter and of Herakles, as well as at the public assemblies taking place monthly and yearly, while the sacrificial herald shall proclaim at the same time: 'The *demos* crowns Apollonios, son of Abbas, *euergetes*, with a golden wreath, to good fortune!' A transcription of this decree shall be recorded on a bronze tablet and it shall be erected in the pronaos of the sanctuary of Astarte, so that also the others, having witnessed the gratitude of the people, will always strive to render a service to the polis. It has been resolved.

Considering the cultural milieu and the obscurity of the settlement, the use of Greek in itself is remarkable enough. Furthermore, Robert's extensive study of the inscription stresses that it is 'un grec excellent', which follows the standard phrases of civic decrees or royal administration.[22] It is problematic, though, to generalize from this finding, as a bilingual inscription from Faraşa, also dating to the late second or early first century, attests the further use of Aramaic,[23] and the Cappadocian language seems to have still been spoken in Roman Imperial times.[24] Concerning Hanisa, however, the value of the inscription far exceeds the mere attestation of Greek, as it illustrates that the city, which apparently used the Macedonian calendar, had the constitution of a *polis* comprising a *boule* (l. 4), and an *ekklesia* (l. 22–23), a board of *prytaneis* (l. 5) and an eponymous *demiourgos* (l. 3), as well as at least one *archon* (l. 8), and also perceived itself as being a *polis* (l. 34).[25]

The topic of the civic decree is also of interest. The *polis* honours a former *archon* named Apollonios for his commitment in the course of a legal dispute which had resulted from the heirless death of a citizen. It seems to have been custom that under such circumstances the inheritance fell to the *polis*. In this case, however, it appears that some fellow citizens had laid claim to it. Apollonios represented his *polis* successfully in front of the responsible royal functionaries, the *archidioiketes*, the 'finance minister', and the *epi tes poleos*, the 'city governor' of Eusebeia, the former Mazaka.[26]

Apollonios was accordingly honoured as benefactor of the city of Hanisa at festivals of Zeus Soter and Herakles and during regular assemblies. Thus, the inscription does indeed illustrate the limits of the city's autonomy, but it also shows that, in an area without any Greek cities, not only had typical Greek political institutions developed, but also the corresponding specific

22 Robert 1963, 487–490, quote on p. 487.

23 Cf. Grégoire 1908, 439–440; Donner and Röllig 1966–1968, no. 265 with the commentary in vol. 2 [1968], 311–312; Robert 1963, 537 with n. 5 and Lipiński 1975, 173–184.

24 Franck 1966, 91–94.

25 That the citizens of Hanisa call their city a *politeuma* in l. 7 cannot be interpreted as evidence of the restricted autonomy of the city, cf. Robert 1963, 476–478. *Politeuma* evidently is used here in the sense of 'community'.

26 Robert 1963, 475–476 rightly stressed that it is the governor of Eusebeia, and not a governor of Hanisa, who had his seat in Eusebeia. Müller and Wörrle 2002, 227 think that the *epi tes poleos* was adopted from Pergamon rather than from the Seleukids, as the competences tangible in the inscription seem to fit with the more civil and administrative profile of the post in the Attalid kingdom. Whether the office of *archidioiketes* was adopted from the Seleukids or the Ptolemies is not clear, cf. Robert 1963, 474–475. As the element ἀρχι- is not attested in either of the two kingdoms as far as we know, there is no direct emulation. Robert tends to favour the Seleukids.

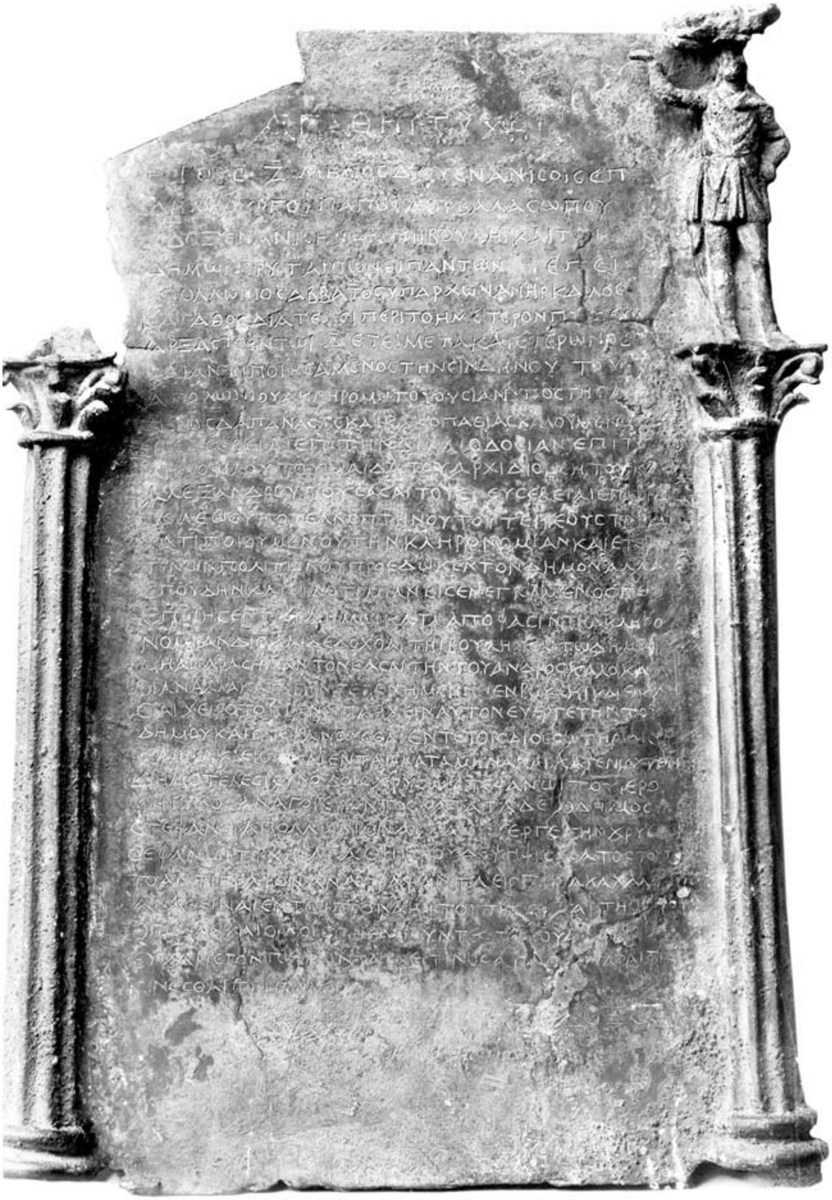

Fig. 20. Bronze tablet from Hanisa (late 2nd/early 1st cent. BCE). Formerly Berlin, Antiquarium Inv. Misc. 7459, now Antikensammlung—Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. Neg. ANT 2895.

value system. With the euergetism of individual citizens and their reciprocal distinction by the community, it mirrors customs of Hellenic *poleis* in the Hellenistic period.[27] At the same time, however, we must be cautious in calling Hanisa 'Hellenized' because, in several respects, this would be too sweeping a characterisation.

Louis Robert has shown that the members of the local populace, as far as we can grasp them here, have Cappadocian names for the most part.[28] The honoured citizen, Apollonios, is no exception to this rule, as he has a theophoric name that probably signalled allegiance to an indigenous god assimilated to Apollo.[29] Edward Lipiński has further identified a number of Semitic names, such as the name of the *demiourgos*' father, Balasopos.[30] This coincides with the reference in l. 31 to a sanctuary of Astarte in Hanisa. The bronze tablet was erected in its *pronaos*, apparently following standard procedure.[31] This Phoenician goddess probably was the city goddess of Hanisa, as Astarte is depicted on the reverse of the aforementioned coin from Hanisa (Fig. 21).[32] Robert claimed that even the Greek gods Zeus and Herakles are actually indigenous deities, as the Anatolian goddess Ma was

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27 On the honours bestowed upon civic benefactors in the Hellenistic period see Quaß 1993, 19–39.

28 Robert 1963, 503–523.

29 Cf. Robert 1963, 508, who draws a parallel to the frequent Cappadocian names Athenaios/Athenais, that follow Ma/Athena Nikephoros; cf. ibid. 494. The name Apollonios is frequently attested in the region of Komana, cf. Harper 1968, 104. The Apollo of Kataonia was, according to Strabo 12.2.5, venerated throughout the kingdom. Epigraphic sources attest his cult in Komana, cf. Panichi 2000, 519, but perhaps the personal name Heliodoros/a reflects a wider spread of the cult as Robert 1963, 508 suspects. The royal functionaries mentioned in the text have to be distinguished from the citizens of Hanisa. The theophoric name of the *archidioketes*, Menophilos, is quiet interesting, as it corresponds to that of his father, Maidates, insofar as both names illustrate devotion to the moon good Men, cf. Robert 1963, 514–519. But while his grandfather chose to give his son a Persian name (**Mai-dāta* = 'given of/by *mai*', or perhaps 'law of *mai*'), the latter decided on a Hellenized name for his son also signalling close attachment to the god. Whether we may deduce a taste for Greekness from this is, however, not at all sure. The name of the governor, Alexandros, is quite common, and Robert suspected 'un nom importé' as his father carries an indigenous name, cf. Robert 1963, 519–522, *Sasas*, or perhaps rather *Sasai* if we are to follow Lipiński 1975, 189–190, in this case being then a Semitic name.

30 Lipiński 1975, 184–194.

31 Nothing in the decree is so extraordinary that it would give reason to suspect an exception.

32 Regling 1935, 16–18; Robert 1963, 501–503. Cumont 1932, 137 suspected that behind Astarte lurked the indigenous goddess Ma or Iranian Anaitis, but see Robert 1963, 502. Numismatic evidence shows that Astarte probably was also the main city goddess of Tyana, cf. Nollé in *I.Tyana* II, pp. 368–371.

Fig. 21. Bronze coin from Hanisa, minted under Ariarathes III(?). Obv.: Idealized portrait of Ariarathes / "ruler" wearing leather helmet, facing right. Rev.: Standing (?) Astarte en face with veil and chiton, holding flower in right, in front two sphinges. Münzkabinett der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin, Inv. nr. 18206015. Photograph © Lutz-Jürgen Lübke.

equated with Athena Nikephoros at this time.[33] But this remains an assumption. However, the two figures which stand on the Corinthian capitals of the columns, framing the inscription, and which supported the now largely lost entablature, can be seen as a further 'un-Greek' element. As the preserved figure on the right seems to be wearing trousers, archaeologists have designated it as 'Oriental'.[34] Thus, the inscription illustrates the adoption of certain Hellenic cultural elements, but by no means does it represent a complete assimilation of the inhabitants of this Cappadocian town into the Greek *oikoumene*.

[33] Robert 1963, 499–501; followed by Will 1998, 832; but see Mitchell 1993, vol. 1: 83 with n. 31, who sees no basis for this hypothesis. Already Reinach 1888, 33 had made it plausible that the Athena Nikephoros who regularly appears on Cappadocian coins is the *interpretatio Graeca* of the Anatolian goddess Ma; cf. Robert 1963, 436; Drew-Bear 1991, 144; Simonetta 1977, 17–18; Thierry 2002, 27, 53–54. See also Harper 1968, no. 2.04.

[34] Curtius 1881 assumed—considering that the tablet was erected in the sanctuary of Astarte—that the two figures depict temple servants, perhaps eunuchs. This remains speculative, however, as there are no parallels. For the labelling 'Oriental', cf. Freiberger et al. 2007, 546–547 with the older literature. I thank Norbert Franken for the reference.

Views on the Origins of Cultural Change

But how did these structures evolve? Where did the 'poliadisation', as Maurice Sartre has called these processes of adopting Greek civic institutions in contrast to the term urbanization, originate? Because of the indigenous anthroponyms, a Greek colony of military settlers which could have been founded either during the Seleukid occupation or under the reign of the Ariarathids, has been rightfully excluded as the impulse for this process.[35] Louis Robert has made it plausible, moreover, that Hanisa succeeded the old Assyrian trade colony Kaniş and that Hanisa was merely the Hellenized form of the original toponym.[36] While Hanisa, then, does not seem to have been a new Hellenistic foundation like Ariaramneia or Ariaratheia, Franz Cumont speculated that one of the Cappadocian kings decreed the establishment of a Greek constitution in Hanisa, and Dietrich Berges has restated this interpretation a few years ago.[37] Ariarathes V, especially, seems a likely candidate for such a scenario. Having received a Greek education, he is attested as a benefactor in Athens, and Diodoros lauds him for his devotion and dedication to philosophy.[38] Diodoros also stresses that Ariarathes attracted learned men to Cappadocia, i.e. probably to his court (πεπαιδευμένοις ἐμβιωτήριον ὑπῆρχεν).[39] While this passage has sometimes been interpreted as proof of a policy of Hellenization, it is rather a reflection of a policy of prestige of the Cappadocian king, of which we possess further evidence.[40] Apparently this patronage of Greek 'science and culture' was an imitation of

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35 Tarn 1938, 19 also excluded the possibility of a military colony, but thought that it was 'probably the creation of one of the Cappadocian kings'; cf. Briant 1998, 332–333; Couvenhes and Heller 2006, 27–28; cf. p. 17 for the term 'poliadisation'.

36 Robert 1963, 464–469, 483; accepted e.g. by Will 1998, 832; Briant 1998, 332.

37 Cumont 1932, 137: 'Un des Ariarathes donc a octroyé à Anisa une constitution purement hellénique'; cf. Berges and Nollé in *I.Tyana* II, pp. 483–484.

38 Diod. Sic. 31.19.8: *οὗτος τὸν πατέρα τοῦ πεπρωμένου καταλαβόντος διεδέξατο τὴν βασιλείαν, τήν τε ἄλλην ἀγωγὴν τοῦ βίου ἀξιολογωτάτην ἐνδεικνύμενος καὶ φιλοσοφίᾳ προσανέχων, ἐξ οὗ καὶ ἡ παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἀγνουμένη πάλαι Καππαδοκία τότε τοῖς πεπαιδευμένοις ἐμβιωτήριον ὑπῆρχεν.* 'But when the fatal day came for his father, he (*sc.* Ariarathes V) inherited the kingdom, and by his whole way of life, and especially by his devotion to philosophy, showed himself worthy of the highest praise; and thus it was that Cappadocia, so long unknown to the Greeks, offered at this time a place of sojourn to men of culture' (trans. Loeb modified); on the context of this often cited passage, see Breglia Pulci Doria 1978. For Ariarathes' V benefactions cf. Michels 2009, 133–139.

39 On the Cappadocian court cf. Bernard 1985, 81–83.

40 Bringmann and von Steuben 1995, KNr. 37: *agonothetes* in Athens; *OGIS* 352 = *IG* II^2 1330 = Aneziri 2003, no. A3: patronage of the Dionysian *technites*; *I.Délos* 1957: organisation of games.

typical elements of the self-representation of Hellenistic kings.[41] This aspect was of special importance for the Attalids, who, since the dynasty's founder Philetairos, had styled themselves benefactors of the Hellenes and part of a world dominated by Greek culture.[42] Ariarathes' V father, Ariarathes IV, had entered an alliance with Pergamon which spared Cappadocia (as the former ally of Antiochos III) from retribution by the Romans in the peace of Apameia and was still essential for the foreign policy of Ariarathes V.[43] The close connection to the western neighbour may, in part, have led to an emulation of the self-representation of the Attalids.[44] To this extent, Robert rightfully saw the kings as 'agents de l'hellénisation', because by emulating the self-representation of the large Macedonian dynasties they introduced elements of Hellenistic court life to Cappadocia, and established contacts to Greek *poleis* by their international commitment.[45]

Furthermore, Ariarathes V was probably responsible for the re-founding of two indigenous cities, Tyana, which became Eusebeia near the Tauros, and Mazaka, later Eusebeia near Argaios.[46] An Ionic capital, found by D. Berges in Tyana and dated by him to the second quarter of the second century BCE, indicates building activities which followed Hellenistic patterns.[47] An inscription from the reign of Ariarathes VI attests a *gymnasion* and games for Hermes and Herakles, while an honorary decree of the time

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[41] Weber 1997, 61–64; 2007a, 104–111 on the function of the Hellenistic court as a stage for monarchic representation and centre of learning. The sponsoring and foundation by Hellenistic kings of 'cultural' institutions in Greek *poleis*, theatres, *gymnasia*, and *stoai*, as well as donations for schools and festivals, is a phenomenon of the second century BCE, cf. Bringmann 2000, 151–165. On the very limited implications of this international commitment towards a 'policy of Hellenization', see Michels 2009, 315–324. On games organised by a king Ariarathes, see *I.Délos* 1957; Robert 1963, 496; Michels 2009, 138–139. Robert (pp. 495–496) stressed that Ariarathes V not only sponsored the Dionysian artists in Athens, but, by granting them at the same time *asylia* and *asphaleia*, invited them to participate in festivities in Cappadocia; cf. Aneziri 2003, 44–46; Michels 2009, 136–139.

[42] On the representation of the Attalids cf. Schalles 1985; Gruen 2000; Orth 2008.

[43] Cf. Hopp 1977, 74–79.

[44] Cf. Breglia Pulci Doria 1978, 109–110, 125 with n. 65; Sofou 2005, 759–760. Berges 2002, 182, however, clearly overestimates the importance of the change of alliance by Ariarathes IV when he links it to the beginning of a 'forcierten Hellenisierung seines Reiches'.

[45] Robert 1963, 490; cf. 490–497 and Michels 2009, 122–146. Only very few sources on court life in Cappadocia survive. The sources flow more copiously, for the court of the kings of Pontos especially for the time of Mithradates VI Eupator Dionysos, as his wars against Rome attracted the attention of ancient authors. On factors of the 'Hellenization' of the Pontic court, see Olshausen 1974.

[46] Cf. Cohen 1995, 377–379; Michels 2009, 314–324.

[47] Berges 1998, esp. 191–192 with fig. 4; *I.Tyana* 127 with fig. 39, 55, l. 2, pl. 88.

of the Ariobarzanids shows aspects of a *polis* organisation.[48] According to Strabo, the citizens of Eusebeia near Argaios used the laws of the archaic lawgiver Charondas. He does not claim that they were introduced by a king, however.[49]

While in these two cities—Strabo claims that they were the only *poleis* of Cappadocia—the development of *polis* structures may perhaps be linked to royal intervention, Louis Robert and Édouard Will have rightfully stressed the 'spontanéité' of the Hellenization of Hanisa.[50] For in this case, evidence for a re-foundation of the town as *polis*—such as a dynastic name—is lacking. Consequently, an intentional royal policy of Hellenization can be excluded as an explanation for the 'poliadisation' of Hanisa. In what follows, I shall turn to the question of whether it is possible to suggest another model.

Peer Polity Interaction and the Hellenistic World

As an explanatory framework, the system of peer polity interaction may be of use here. Developed by the archaeologists Colin Renfrew and John Cherry as an alternative to rigid core-periphery models for the analysis of culture transfer in early societies, it focuses on concrete, regional interaction between autonomous, structurally similar polities, understood as the

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48 *I.Tyana* 29: *front*: ὑπὲρ βασιλέως Ἀριαρά|θους Ἐπιφανοῦς Ατηζωας | Δρυηνου γυμνασιαρχήσας | καὶ ἀγωνοθετήσας Ἑρμῇ | καὶ Ἡρακλεῖ ἀ[να]γραφὴν γυ|μνασιάρχων [τῶν] ἀπὸ τοῦ | ε ἔτους [Ατηζ]ω̣ας Δρυη|νου, [-] Ἡρακλεί[δου]; *side*: Ἀθήναιος Ἡγ[-]: *front*: 'For king Ariarathes Epiphanes: Atezoas, son of Dryenos/es, gymnasiarch and agonothetes of Hermes and Herakles, (prompted the erection of) the list of gymnasiarchs since the 5th year (of the king's reign): [Atez]oas, son of Dryenos, [-], son of Heraklei[des]'; *side*: 'Athenaios, son of Heg[-]'; 30: [ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐτίμησαν | (τὸν δεῖνα) Ἡρακλείδου καὶ (τὸν δεῖνα) | Ἡρ]ακλείδου τὸν καὶ Ση[- , τῶν πρώ|τ]ων φίλων βασιλέως Ἀριοβαρ[ζάνου|Φ]ιλορωμαίου καὶ μάλιστα πιστευομ̣[έ]|νων καὶ τιμωμένων παρ' αὐτῶι, γέγ[ο]ν̣ό|τας δὲ καὶ ἐπ[ὶ] τῆς πόλεως καὶ [τοὺς ἀ]|δ̣ελφοὺς τοὺς κοινοὺς εὐεργέ[τας ἀ]|ρετῆς ἕνεκεν καὶ εὐνοίας ἧς ἔχοντες] | διατελοῦσιν εἴς τε τοὺς βασιλεῖς | καὶ τὸν δῆμον· οἱ δὲ ἀνδριάντες | [αὐτῶν ἀνέ]σθησαν τιμῇ δημοσίᾳ, '[Council and people (?) honour n.n., son of Herakleides, and n.n., son of Her]akleides, also called Se[…, one of the firs]t friends of king Ariobar[zanes Ph]iloromaios, who enjoyed his greatest confidence and were highly honoured by him, the former city governors and brothers as common benefactors because of their virtue and their goodwill that they constantly had towards the king and the people. Their statues were erected with public funds.' (trans. mine, following Nollé). Although the beginning of the inscription is lost, the mention of 'public funds' (δημοσίᾳ) clearly points to structures of civic self-government.

49 Strabo 12.2.9. That the laws were introduced by a king, i.e. Ariarathes V, is deduced e.g. by Teja 1980, 1104; Berges 1998, 190; Trotta 2000, 199–200; Panichi 2005a, 211–212; 2005b, 254; Sofou 2005, 760 with n. 127.

50 Will 1998, 832; cf. Robert 1963, 482–483.

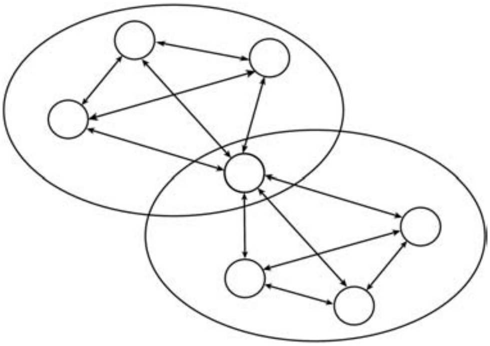

Fig. 22. Model of peer polity interaction after Renfrew 1986, 6 (fig. 1.5) with modifications proposed by Eder 1993.

largest 'socio-political units' which exist near each other without one of them prevailing over the others.[51] As Anthony Snodgrass demonstrated for the Archaic and Classical Period, the units in question may be identified with *poleis*.[52] Walter Eder accurately described the concept as a 'Mittelweg zwischen Diffusionismus und Funktionalismus'.[53] However, at the same time, he observed that an actual state of equilibrium between neighbouring communities could only be a snapshot. Accordingly, shifts of power have to be taken into account in order to avoid an all too static and, therefore, ahistorical picture of the processes under study. This is all the more necessary, given that the concept sees 'competitive emulation' as an important element of interaction.[54] Eder also criticized the idea of a clearly confined geographical region in which interaction mainly is supposed to take place. He stressed, rather, that communities lying at the fringe of a region may not only belong to one, but several zones of interaction. Hence, these zones overlap with each other and this phenomenon, called 'Schnittmengeneffekt'—intersection effect—by Eder, could contribute to our understanding of how ideas or objects spread, without being equivalent to the idea of diffusionism, as communication occurs horizontally and not from top to bottom (Fig. 22).[55]

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[51] Renfrew 1986, 1–4.
[52] Snodgrass 1986.
[53] Eder 1993, 432.
[54] Renfrew 1986, 8.
[55] Eder 1993, 433.

A few years ago, John Ma applied this concept to the Hellenistic world, although he did not try to trace cultural change, but used peer polity interaction for the analysis of far-ranging, 'international' networks of Hellenic *poleis*.[56] Common language and a shared set of values and norms formed a discursive space that constituted the framework for diplomatic manœuvres, possibly involving numerous *poleis* at once, which at the same time provided a stage for the self-portrayal of civic elites.[57] While Ma accordingly focuses on 'stability', not 'change', he nevertheless argues for a historization of the concept.[58] In this context, he also directs our attention to the integration of communities into this discourse which had only recently developed *polis* structures. Within his brief mention of Hanisa, he terms this a case of 'quasi' peer polity interaction.[59] In the course of his argument, Ma also invalidates one fundamental objection which might be brought against the application of this concept to Hanisa, namely that this city was not autonomous in the strict sense, as it was a subject city under control of a royal administration. Yet, many Greek *poleis* were not 'autonomous', if that is to mean that they were independent of a greater power, such as another *polis*. Ma has thus rightfully stressed that communication between subject city and king was never absolutely exclusive, but that there existed multifaceted networks, even spanning the borders of the large kingdoms.[60]

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56 Ma 2003.

57 Ma 2003, 24–25.

58 Ma 2003, 24, 33–39.

59 Ma 2003, 38. His short critique of the 'portentous term "Hellenization"' which—in his view—'in itself describes and explains nothing' is, however, debatable, to say the least. While it is, of course, true that very little is explained by the mere statement of the 'Hellenization of Cappadocia', for example, the term itself is not, so to speak, responsible for this. It is possible to state that the political institutions of Hanisa were modelled after those of a Greek *polis*, and we might call this the Hellenization of *specific elements* of the social imaginaries of the citizens of this city. That is not to say that Hanisa was hellenized, if that is taken to mean that its former culture was completely abandoned. But it is not necessary to do so, as argued above. Thus, it is not imperative to discard the term 'Hellenization' (alternatives like acculturation, accommodation, assimilation, and so forth [cf. the comments by E. Stavrianopoulou in the introduction of this volume] are hardly more specific), but to examine as precisely as possible which elements were adopted and to what extent they underwent changes in the process of cultural transfer. This is quite important, as it is not the intention here to simply replace the label 'Hellenization' with a new label, i.e. 'peer polity interaction', but to test whether this model is in any way helpful in reconstructing the framework of cultural contact which in this case led to the adoption of 'Greek' cultural elements, i.e. to a certain degree to Hellenization.

60 Ma 2003, 29–30.

Peer Polity Interaction and Cappadocia

A problem of Ma's approach might be that, because of the widening of the concept, all *poleis* end up in the same class of peers and, therefore, the model loses some of its originally regional character.[61] To keep regional interaction in focus, however, is fruitful when it comes to analyzing Hanisa's constitution, for which Louis Robert provided an important lead. While studying the individual institutions attested by the inscription, Robert pointed out that the office of *demiourgos*, which was eponymous in Hanisa, is found in this prominent status mainly in southern Asia Minor, namely in Cilicia, Pamphylia, and Lykia, perhaps also Pisidia, while it seems not to have had this importance in the north.[62] Cilicia, in particular, deserves to be taken into consideration, since under the Achaemenids it was probably linked with Cappadocia by the mountain pass leading across the Taurus range at the Cilician Gates.[63] After the Macedonian conquest, parts of Cilicia fell alternately under the control of the Seleukids or Ptolemies.[64] In order to secure supremacy over this strategically vital region, which, for the Seleukids, was part of the east-west route and was also a source for shipbuilding timber, several 'colonies' were founded, and old cities such as Tarsos, which was re-founded in the third century as Antiocheia on the Kydnos, were turned into *poleis*.[65] Even though these cities had already felt the influence of Greek culture since the eighth century, this was a profound impulse towards Hellenization.[66] Contacts of Cappadocian cities to communities in Cilicia may, therefore, have established a specific form of the aforementioned intersection effect.

But did such contacts exist? Apart from trade connections which can be postulated, but are not attested so far, an inscription found on Rhodes could point in this direction.[67] It once belonged to a statue of Ariarathes VI

61 For the regional focus of the model, cf. Renfrew 1986, 1–7.

62 Robert 1963, 478–479; cf. Veligianni-Terzi 1977, 127–130 lists the cities of Phaselis, Aspendos, Pogla (uncertain), and Mallos.

63 Cf. French 1998; Panichi 2007, 74–76; Marek 2010, 209–211.

64 Cohen 1995, 49–52, 55–57; Schmitt 2005, 546–547.

65 Cohen 1995, 355–372.

66 Cf. Salmeri 2004, 198–199.

67 For Robert 1963, 471, the existence of the bronze tablet from Hanisa illustrated 'la persistance à la basse époque hellénistique, d'une industrie du bronze à Hanisa' which was already crucial in Assyrian times; maybe also trade in bronze was important. Kontorini 1983, 22–23, likewise suspects trade connections as an underlying motivation for Paramonos to dedicate the statue in Rhodes. For the inscription from Rhodes, see Kontorini 1983, 19–23,

dedicated by a citizen of Tarsos, Paramonos, who might be identical with the homonymous pupil of Panaitios, as Ferrary suggested and Haake now argues afresh.[68] Even if the background of the dedication remains unknown, some tangible benefactions of the Cappadocian king seem likely. As Paramonos does not identify himself as *philos* of this king, he probably was not a member of the Cappadocian court. Thus, the dedication can be interpreted broadly as an expression of Cappadocian-Cilician contacts.[69]

Why these potential contacts may have resulted in the adoption of Hellenic cultural elements in Hanisa, though, is not explained just by the existence of interaction. For Robert, the transfer of the office of *demiourgos* illustrated 'que cette ville a subi l'influence des villes hellénisées du Sud, que ses institutions ont été naturellement modelées sur les leurs, par influence et contact […]'.[70] The adverb 'naturellement' is used here in opposition to the idea of an intentional policy of Hellenization, which Robert rightfully dismisses. To call this development 'natural', however, means to presuppose a superiority of Greek culture which was eventually accepted by the natives.[71] As there existed strong, competing traditions in Cappadocia which persisted even in Roman Imperial times, this seems all the more problematic. To answer the question of why Greek culture was apparently attractive to the people of Hanisa in the period studied in this article, the essential conclusion of cultural studies must be taken into consideration, that in the course of cultural transfer processes the recipients will adopt only those elements which they perceive as useful and prestigious, that is, as advantageous for their social standing.[72] Recognizing this premise, the peer polity interaction concept can be used to clarify the motive of the recipients. One all-important prerequisite to find access to the networks of Greek *poleis* described by John Ma—and eventually to the elites at the royal courts that were also significantly characterized by Graeco-Macedonian culture

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no. 1 (= *SEG* 33.642): βασιλῆ Ἀριαράθη Ἐπιφανῆ | καὶ Φιλοπάτορα τὸν ἐγ βασιλέως | Ἀριαράθους Εὐσεβοῦς καὶ Φιλοπάτορος | Παράμονος Καστορίδου Ταρσεὺς | ἀρετῆς ἕνεκεν καὶ εὐνοίας καὶ | εὐεργεσίας τῆς εἰς αὐτὸν θεοῖς. | Φιλαγόρας Μ⟨εν⟩ύλλου Ῥόδιο⟨ς⟩ ἐποίησε.

68 Ferrary 1988, 461–462; Haake 2012. Many thanks to Matthias Haake for sending me his manuscript.

69 Likewise, Wiemer 2002, 331 with n. 14 interprets the inscription as evidence for 'gute Beziehungen der Rhodier zu Ariarathes VI'.

70 Robert 1963, 479: '[…] et qu'il ne s'agit pas de la création subite et "ex nihilo" d'une ville grecque due à la volonté de monarques philhellènes lui imposant une constitution d'après des modèles classiques'.

71 For the general change of paradigm in recent studies concerning a supposed 'superiority' of the Greeks in comparison with their neighbours, cf. Ulf 2009, 105.

72 Blum 2002, 6; Attoura 2002, 23, 25; Ulf 2009, 90.

and consisted to a considerable degree of *polis* citizens—was to enter the dominant discourse which required the acquisition of Greek education.[73]

That members of the Cappadocian elites were indeed interested in gaining such access can be deduced from inscriptions of the second and first centuries which attest the presence of Cappadocians in Greek cities. So far, no citizens from Hanisa are among them, but we know of two citizens of Ariaratheia in Athens and one in Samos.[74] Two citizens from one or both of the cities named Eusebeia appear in inscriptions from Athens and Lindos.[75]

Furthermore, an anomaly in the decree from Hanisa may point to repercussions of what had been experienced by members of the local elite in Greek *poleis*. Philippe Gauthier made the important observation that Apollonios is not only honoured in his quality as benefactor of the city, but is also awarded the title of *euergetes* (l. 28), even though he is a citizen of the *polis*. This is a rather rare phenomenon, otherwise known only from Istros, Lissai, and Amyzon.[76] While Gauthier dismissed the notion that this might be explained by cultural transfer processes, Couvenhes and Heller have suggested in a recent study a two-tiered transfer of this specific element.[77] They assume that, at first, only outsiders such as strangers and kings had been honoured by the city and that this practice was later, in a second step, transferred to the interior. But there is actually no evidence to suggest that this was the case. I assume, rather, that members of the indigenous elite first came into contact with this practice as recipients of honours in Greek *poleis*, then learned to appreciate it as a source of social prestige, but 'misunderstood' it insofar as they directly adopted it for internal use among citizens, thus adapting it to the needs of their city.[78]

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[73] Bringmann 2004, 326–327.

[74] Cf. Robert 1963, 497 with n. 2. A funerary inscription from Athens, *IG* II² 8373a, attests a Λεπτ̣[ί]νης Μένω[ν]ος Ἀριαραθεύς. Even more important is *IG* II² 980, a decree granting a citizen of Ariaratheia Athenian citizenship. His name did not survive, but patronymic and *ethnikon* are preserved: Μιθραξίδου Ἀριαραθέα (l. 11). The decree was probably motivated by concrete, albeit unknown merits of the Cappadocian. Thus, interaction between civic élites becomes tangible. The inscription from the *agora* of Samos (*IG* XII 6.2, 972B = *SEG* 41.711) attests an astronomer, Β̣όϊθος Μηνοδώρ̣ου Ἀριαραθεύς, see Dunst and Buchner 1973 followed by Robert and Robert, *BE* 1974, no. 424; Bernard 1985, 82 with n. 161.

[75] Athens: *IG* II² 8504; Lindos: *I.Lindos* 660.

[76] Gauthier 1985, 33–39.

[77] Couvenhes and Heller 2006, 31–32.

[78] The meanings attached to objects or ideas in one society never remain unaltered, and 'invariably undergo a process of transformation' when these elements are appropriated by another society and 'enter a new conceptual framework', as Ulf 2009, 91 recognizes. 'Misunderstanding' is thus an integral part of cultural contacts.

The prime example for such a 'self-Hellenization' of an indigenous community and a parallel to the local elite of Cappadocia, already briefly mentioned by Robert, is the Jewish elite of Jerusalem in the second century BCE.[79] For our context, the eventual catastrophic failure of the reforms is less important than the insight that all the moves towards adopting features of Greek life-style originated within Jewish circles and did not depend on any royal policy.[80] To acquire *polis* status was both prestigious and brought considerable privileges. It was also closely linked to the introduction of Greek cultural institutions, namely the establishment of a *gymnasion*, which was also on the agenda of the Jewish elite. This is now vividly illustrated by Phrygian Toriaion, probably a Seleukid military settlement of mixed population which fell under the control of the Attalids after the peace of Apameia.[81] The epigraphic record of the correspondence of Eumenes II with this community has made it possible to follow the process of poliadisation as these settlers secured for themselves, in exchange for continued loyalty, the king's grant of a *polis* constitution and his approval to establish a *gymnasion*, for which Eumenes himself magnanimously promised patronage.[82]

The sequence of events in Toriaion—a local initiative followed by royal engagement—perhaps also allows a new perspective on the development in Cappadocia, as, for example, it is by no means certain that the *gymnasion* in Tyana was established by any king.[83] Men like the *gymnasiarchos* Atezoas, son of Dryenos, the dedicator of the inscription, may instead have brought the request to establish a *gymnasion* before the king, who would have been happy to oblige, as this corresponded to his role as benefactor.

This discursive model is perhaps also a preferable scenario for the development of *polis* structures in Komana in Kataonia, the most important sanctuary of Ma-Enyo, the 'national' goddess of Cappadocia, and one of the largest 'temple-states' of Asia Minor.[84] As it is attested that this old centre had adopted the Greek name Hieropolis by the first century CE, Jones thought it had been transformed into a *polis* by the last Cappadocian king

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79 Robert 1963, 492.

80 Bringmann 1983, 66–74; 2004, 323–328; Gruen 1993; cf. Savalli-Lestrade 2005, 11–12.

81 *I.Sultan Daği* I 393; cf. Schuler 1999; Savalli-Lestrade 2005.

82 *I.Sultan Daği* I 393, esp. ll. 8–17, 25–33, 39–41; Ameling 2004, 131–137; Bringmann 2004, 324.

83 But see Panichi 2000, 523 who thinks that it was built by Ariarathes VI.

84 On Komana, cf. Strabo 12.2.3, as well as Jones 1971, 179 with n. 11; Magie 1966, 141–142, 494 with n. 9; Hild and Restle 1981, 208–209. There probably already existed a cultic centre at the place later called Komana in the time of the Hittites, named *Kummanni*; but see now against this identification Casabonne 2009 with not wholly convincing arguments.

Archelaos, for he is praised as *ktistes* and *soter* by the *demos* of Komana in *OGIS* 358.[85] We do, indeed, know of other city re-foundations by Archelaos, namely Archelais, the former Garsau(i)ra, and Elaioussa, which he enlarged by synoecism and later renamed Sebaste in honour of Augustus, as he did in the case of Eusebeia near Argaios, which he renamed Kaisareia.[86] Yet, it is not necessary to deduce from *OGIS* 358 that Archelaos also founded Komana anew, as the inflationary titles used here in honour of the Cappadocian king could, in the meantime, be used to honour even quite 'simple' benefactors.[87] That Archelaos' commitment was a part, but not the beginning of the process, is implied by an inscription which attests a *gerousia* and perhaps a *gymnasion* whose gymnasiarch was at the same time priest of the goddess Ma.[88] Harper dated the decree to the first century BCE, based on the forms of the letters and on the second name of the one honoured, Ariobarzanes, which hints at a connection of this priest to the Ariobarzanid dynasty (96/95–36 BCE).[89] If this suggestion is accepted, it is possible that Archelaos interacted with a city in which Greek institutions had already begun to emerge, but which also preserved its traditional customs.

But even if the initiative thus shifts to the local élites, one nevertheless has to acknowledge that the kings did not necessarily have to comply with a city's wishes for greater autonomy, and it is perhaps telling that—although it is an *argumentum e silentio*—we do not possess any evidence for similar discourses in the structurally comparable kingdom of Pontos. Thus, it seems that the specific frame conditions in the kingdom of Cappadocia facilitated these processes. In discussing the political institutions of late Hellenistic Tyana and the honours for two royal functionaries, Nollé speculates on a broader level that the king and subject cities in Cappadocia were bound to cooperate, as it lay in their interest 'die Macht von grundbesitzendem

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85 Βασιλέα Ἀρχέλα[ον] | φιλόπατριν τὸν | κτίστην καὶ σωτῆρα | ὁ δῆμος (= Harper 1968, no. 2.01). Jones 1971, 180; Anderson 1931, 189 observes that the term δῆμος could also be used as a self-designation of a village, followed by Magie 1966, 1354 with n. 9 and Leschhorn 1984, 300. It is thus not evidence for a *polis* constitution in itself. Strabo, on the one hand, calls Komana an important city (12.2.3) and, on the other hand, states that there are no *poleis* in Kataonia (12.2.6). This may perhaps point to a change of status in his time, cf. Leschhorn 1984, 299–300 with n. 1, and Michels 2009, 333. In Harper 1968, no. 1.01, an inscription honouring Marcus Hirrius Fronto Neratius Pansa, who was governor of Galatia/Cappadocia c. 77–80 CE, we find in l. 1 [Ἱ]εροπολει[τ]ῶν ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ [δῆμος]; cf. ibid, pp. 95–99.

86 On these cases cf. Michels 2009, 326–330.

87 Gauthier 1985, 59–60; Quaß 1993, 34–35; Ziegler 1998.

88 *OGIS* 364 (= Harper 1968, no. 2.05): ἡ γερουσία | Μιθρατώχμην Ἰαζήμιος | τοῦ Ἰαζήμιος τοῦ Μιθρα|τώχμου, τὸν καὶ Ἀριοβαρ|ζάνην, τὸν ἱερέα τῆς | Νικηφόρου Θεᾶς, γυμν[α]|σί[αρχον].

89 Harper 1968, 102.

Adel und "Tempelstaaten" einzudämmen'.[90] Although this seems plausible, explicit evidence is lacking, and we also do not know of similar alliances in Pontos. Thus, perhaps the Attalid connection of the Ariarathids is to be seen as the factor which distinguishes Cappadocia from Pontos from roughly the second third of the second century in this context. Possibly the experience of communication processes of the Pergamene kings with cities of their realm, as in the case of Toriaion, had repercussions on the policy of the Ariarathids towards the cities in their own realm, as the Ariarathids probably adopted the office of the *epi tes poleos* from Pergamon. That is not to say, however, that they initiated a process of Hellenization.

Conclusion

The fragmentary historical tradition for Hellenistic Cappadocia often only allows a view at the level of royal politics. Evidence for the adoption of elements of Greek culture thus tends to be interpreted within the framework of these narratives and as a reflection of a royal policy. The inscription from Hanisa grants an entirely different point of view. Here, any evidence for royal intervention as the origin of cultural change is lacking. A scenario of interaction between the indigenous aristocracy and civic élites of Greek/Hellenized *poleis* is more probable. The benefit of introducing the concept of peer polity interaction as an explanatory framework for these processes is twofold. On the one hand, it allows for plausibly locating the origins of one of the adopted elements of Hanisa's 'constitution' (*demiourgos*), and on the other hand it helps to explain the impetus of Hanisa's indigenous upper class to strive for connection to the Hellenistic world. The insights gained from this case can perhaps be transferred to other ill-documented settlements (as Komana) of Cappadocia which experienced a comparable transformation in the Hellenistic period. The scenario proposed in this study does not eliminate the role of the kings who always had the last word in granting even limited civic autonomy. But the initiative for cultural change shifts from a centralized, intentional policy fuelled by a profound philhellenism toward a much more plausible discourse between local élite, monarchic centre, and the wider Hellenistic world.

[90] Nollé in *I.Tyana* I, p. 209. For the situation in Pontos, which was very similar, cf. Olshausen 1987.

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PART THREE

SHIFTING WORLDVIEWS

CEREMONIES, ATHLETICS AND THE CITY: SOME REMARKS ON THE SOCIAL IMAGINARY OF THE GREEK CITY OF THE HELLENISTIC PERIOD*

Onno M. van Nijf

The Hellenistic period witnessed a second rise of the Greek city, when Greek-style urbanism spread from the western Mediterranean to the depths of present-day Afghanistan. New *poleis* were founded by Alexander and his successors, but ancient Greek cities flourished too. Urbanization *à la grecque* reached levels that would remain unequalled until the modern era. All this time the *polis* proved an attractive model: rural communities or indigenous settlements adopted the character of a *polis*. New *poleis* continued to be created or re-created under the Roman emperors, starting with Augustus, and well into the empire. And the *polis* remained flourishing up to the end of antiquity.[1] Yet, even if these cities bore the name and title of *polis*, scholars have long refused to take this claim seriously. Scholarship of the political history of the later Greek city was long phrased in terms of decline resulting from a classicizing myopia that privileged the experiences of the best-documented case, i.e. fifth and fourth-century Athens. For most scholars, the rise of Macedonia signalled the beginning of the end. As recently as 1990, the sociologist W.G. Runciman could still write about the history of the later Greek city as an 'evolutionary dead end'.[2] He stands in a long tradition of scholarship, yet the end of the *polis* has been remarkably hard to find.[3] The great French scholar Louis Robert never tired of arguing that

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* The invitation to take part in the 2011 Heidelberg conference tied in with themes of two research projects on the history of sport and festivals and on the political culture in the Greek city of the Hellenistic and Roman periods. At the conference, I focused mainly on the role of athletic competition, but I had to adjust the emphasis, so as not to reduplicate other publications. Some overlap, however, was unavoidable, cf. van Nijf 2011a, 2012a; van Nijf and Alston 2011a.

[1] For a brief overview of the historiography: van Nijf and Alston 2011a. For an assessment of the Greek city in the Hellenistic and Roman periods see eg. Gauthier 1993; Woolf 1997.

[2] Runciman 1990.

[3] Cf. the remarks of George Grote in the preface to his magnum opus: 'After the generation of Alexander, the political action of Greece becomes cramped and degraded—no longer interested to the reader, or operative on the destinies of the world' (Grote 1846, ix).

the Greek city did not die at Chaeronea, but that it was actually about to reach its greatest apogee in the Hellenistic and imperial periods.[4] Robert's view was taken up and refined by Philippe Gauthier and his followers, who argued that the Greek *polis* was certainly vibrant until the advent of Rome in the eastern Mediterranean. This view is now widely shared, and is becoming a new orthodoxy.[5] More recently, scholars have even argued for the continued significance of the *polis* as a form of social and political organization well into the imperial period.[6]

In the Hellenistic period, political life had entered a paradoxical stage which defies easy categorization. Civic spirit and local pride were still common among the local elites, but civic identity was also important at the level of ordinary citizens. Moreover, although Hellenistic kings and dynasts, and later Roman emperors, turned international politics into an uneven playing field, most cities still seem to have enjoyed a degree of autonomy, and sometimes freedom. Greek intra-city diplomacy was flourishing. John Ma has recently described this situation in terms of peer polity interaction: 'The concept promotes the study of equipollent, interconnected communities, which must be considered *qua* network rather than by trying to differentiate between core and periphery. I believe that this model might help organize the evidence about the Hellenistic *poleis* into a single interpretive picture, which will illustrate the continued vitality not simply of the *polis*, but also of a whole network of peer polities'.[7] Even though this model does not fully take into account that the cities also had to deal with the very real concentration of power in the hands of kings and emperors, it is still the best model around if we want to understand how the Greek cities imagined their own position in the world, as well as the nature of their relationship with other Greek cities.

One particularly important aspect of this model is that it draws attention to the remarkable degree of uniformity of this new Greek urban world. This was particularly evident in architectural terms. Most cities were laid out along the familiar Hippodamian grid, and domestic architecture for the ordinary citizens does not seem to have varied greatly. On the other hand, elite families marked their rising ambitions and growing power by build-

4 Robert 1969, 42.

5 Gauthier 1984; his position is taken further by the various articles in Fröhlich and Müller 2005.

6 Ma 2000; Zuiderhoek 2008; van Nijf 2011b.

7 Ma 2003, 15.

ing bigger and more luxurious dwellings. Significantly, many of these elite houses opened themselves to the public.[8] Politics was not only made in the *ekklesia* or the council chamber, but also in the courtyards and reception rooms of wealthy citizens. Public architecture was also surprisingly homogeneous. A second-century observer lists the whole identikit of a Greek city: council houses (*archeia*), a *gymnasion*, a theatre, an *agora*, and a fountain were universal items—and their basic shapes did not vary greatly between cities.[9] Such buildings were everywhere a core ingredient of a widely shared civic identity. And finally there was also linguistic homogenization. In the classical period, all cities had stubbornly stuck to their local versions of Greek, but in the Hellenistic period *koine*, Greek rose to prominence as the lingua franca of commerce, diplomacy and governance. Of course, it would ultimately become the language in which the new global religion of Christianity spread.

Traditionally, historians have focused on the familiar political institutions, and the formulae and processes of political decision-making. It is remarkable that the ingredients of political life in the Hellenistic *poleis* did not vary much from the shores of the eastern Mediterranean to the highlands of present-day Afghanistan. Moreover, on the surface local political systems were remarkably conservative, as most institutions and processes would have been recognizable to a Greek of the classical period.[10] In fact, many Hellenistic cities were, formally at least, democracies, but, on the other hand, it is accepted that in most cities local power tended to be monopolized by a handful of families, who slowly but surely raised their profiles, without, however completely rejecting the traditional civic ideology of the *polis*. It would seem reasonable to conclude, therefore, that the traditional political institutions had become completely devoid of any real meaning. However, this raises the question of why the Greek cities would have kept these institutions alive for centuries, and it explains even less why generations of local politicians took these institutions seriously, and considered them worthy of their time, money, and best efforts.[11] Moreover, the voice of the *demos* was still heard in the Greek assemblies.[12] Eminent orators and writers such as Plutarch, Aelius Aristides, and Dio Chrysostom set

8 Zanker 1995, 245; Walter-Karydi 1998; Nevett 1999, 158–175.
9 Paus. 10.4.1.
10 Rhodes and Lewis 1997.
11 Zuiderhoek 2008.
12 Grieb 2008.

themselves up as political advisors to the elites, and they make the impression that they still considered the *demos* a major political force to be reckoned with. Even if the epigraphic evidence suggests otherwise, it is hard to believe that the protest and political activism of the population found in the Greek cities of the Classical period had simply disappeared. In fact, in the late Republic, Roman observers could still 'indulge in some bitterly contemptuous abuse of the assemblies of the Greek cities of Asia'.[13] We even have some first-hand accounts that prove that the *demos* continued to show its mettle at least until the third century CE. Ramsay MacMullen cites reports of political meetings from Roman Egypt, to show that these meetings were unruly affairs.[14] Cries of approval or disapproval became acclamations that in their turn could lead to assembly meetings seemingly getting out of hand. So, by all accounts, it appears that these later *poleis* still served as a meaningful source of political and social identity for civic leaders and for ordinary citizens, even though it is not always easy to integrate all the differing developments into one integrative account. In this article, I hope to show that, if we want to understand these developments at all, it is not sufficient to limit ourselves to a traditional analysis of the political history of the period; we need to redefine what we mean by political history.

Political history has often been limited to the analysis of formal structures: processes of decision making and the traditional institutions of the state—a form of history that has been influenced and shaped by modern nineteenth-century ideas of what politics was about.[15] But alternative paradigms of political history have arisen (both in ancient history and in modern history) that not only take traditional politics (*la politique* in French) into account, but extend their scope also to include wider aspects of the political (*le politique* in recent French scholarship), or, as it is called in the Anglo-American tradition, the 'political culture'.[16] This notion was originally developed in political science, but has now widely been adopted also by modern historians. 'Involving both the ideals and the operating norms of a political system, political culture includes subjective attitudes and sentiments as well as objective symbols and creeds that together govern political behaviour and give structure and order to the political process'.[17] In other

13 De Ste Croix 1983, 310.
14 MacMullen 2006.
15 Van Nijf and Alston 2011a; Salmeri 2011.
16 Azoulay and Ismard 2007.
17 Pye 2001.

words, these approaches allow for a wider (holistic) conceptualization of political history, allowing for a much wider range of activities and sources to be included in our analyses than used to be the case. This approach is particularly strong in scholarship on the archaic and classical *polis*. There have been successful attempts to identify the political in literary texts, rituals, and performances. Yet others have concentrated on the way that civic identity was expressed in monuments, architecture, and inscriptions.

There have been few attempts to apply this approach to the Greek city after the classical age, even though it seems particularly fruitful in a situation where political institutions and social practices were becoming increasingly entangled.[18]

Here I want to argue that we might be able to throw some light on these developments if we can arrive at a better comprehension of the self-understandings that were constitutive of Greek civic life after the classical age, and of the way they gradually evolved in the Hellenistic and Roman periods. In this context I want to explore how, and by what means, the inhabitants of the Greek cities managed to create and maintain this remarkably homogeneous political culture, and how the main actors of political life saw their own role.

In this regard, the notion of the social imaginary, which is the theme of this volume, seems particularly helpful. Taking my lead from Charles Taylor, I use this concept to describe ways in which the Greeks imagined 'their social existence, how they fitted together, how things went on between them, and their fellow citizens, how they imagined the expectations that were normally met as well as the deeper normative notions and images that underlie these expectations'.[19] I want to explore where and how these political values, concepts, and expectations were created and transferred, and how they played a role in shaping the common institutional framework of *polis* society in the post-classical Greek world.

Two particular physical places are in that connection of crucial importance, as they provided the stage for an alternative setting of the political culture. It is a striking illustration of the priorities of these new cities that so much effort was put into the construction and maintenance of buildings and institutions that were concerned with festivals, theatre, and

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[18] One example is the work of Pauline Schmitt-Pantel, whose studies of banquets as 'collective practices' have had wide influence: Schmitt-Pantel 1990; 1992 (which ranges from the Archaic to the Roman period). Cf. van der Vliet 2011.

[19] Taylor 2004, 23.

athletics. Every city constructed theatres, *stadia*, and one or more *gymnasia*. These places became the new symbolic centres of Greek urban life, and as such indispensible elements for the social fabric of the city. As I shall argue, these places were also crucial for the production and transmission of the social imaginary: that is, these places were central to the Greek city as the locus where citizens received instruction in the socially invested practices through which they shaped their civic identities, and where they were able to perform these under the gaze of their fellow citizens.

The first locus I want to discuss is the *gymnasion*. In the Hellenistic period no Greek city was complete without one or more *gymnasia*.[20] The *gymnasia* had arisen in the sixth century BCE as the place for physical training, but they quickly became places with a special meaning for the citizens. Traditionally the *gymnasion* was seen as a response to a new military technique, the phalanx, which required exceptional physical fitness from the citizen-soldiers. The *gymnasion* was, in this view, the place where the members of the hoplite class could become—and stay—fit. Fitness they may have offered, but it does not seem likely, however, that the archaic and classical *gymnasia* were primarily geared towards specific military training. From its origin the *gymnasion* was also associated with other physical activities: it was, of course, also the place where citizens honed their athletic skills and physical prowess, that they put on display in local festivals, as well as in international Panhellenic festivals. Although the *gymnasia* were never limited to the aristocracy, they were always dominated by a leisure class who had the time, money, and inclination to dedicate themselves to the *gymnasion*. Some of these men would triumph at the great festivals of Greece; a greater number would have starred at best in local competitions. The great majority, however, may not have entertained any hopes of actually physical excellence, but may have simply wanted to bask in the glory of their colleagues. In material terms, these first *gymnasia* do not seem to have been very impressive. They were mostly large open spaces at the edges of the cities, although there were temples and some functional buildings, like the *apodyteria*, where athletes took off their clothes and prepared their bodies for exercise.[21]

The *gymnasia* of the Hellenistic period were of a totally different nature: they were moved from the margins to the very heart of the cities. Generous

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[20] Delorme 1960, and von Hesberg 1995 discuss the architectural setting. For an excellent discussion, see Gauthier 1995; Kah and Scholz 2004 offer discussions of many aspects.

[21] Van Nijf 2012b.

kings and local benefactors ensured their monumentalization and adornment, even though some voices insisted that civic education remained a ground for civic pride, and should therefore be funded from public means.[22] But whoever paid for them, *gymnasia* became rich multifunctional buildings with *palaistrai*, *xystoi* (roofed running tracks), practicing rooms, but also libraries and small auditoria designed for public lectures, as well as for meetings of the *neoi* or other associations that were based in the *gymnasia*. They offered facilities for physical training, festive occasions, intellectual formation, and entertainment, and for a wide range of civic activities.

At the same time, the *gymnasia* occupied a central place in the institutional life of the *polis*. One sign of their centrality is the fact that everywhere the *gymnasia* were subject to increasing control by the civic authorities. Whereas in classical Athens the administration of the *gymnasia* had been left to the individual liturgists, we now see the cities increasing their grip on the *gymnasia*. Special laws were enacted to regulate the activities, and gymnasiarchs developed into regular magistrates who were held accountable to the civic institutions.[23] Yet, it was still expected of the gymnasiarch that he funded the activities. Epigraphic texts, including public decrees and honorific inscriptions for gymnasiarchs, make clear that the programme of the *gymnasion* was a matter of public concern. In some cities we find gymnasiarchical laws regulating the details, but private initiatives were also subject to approval by the *boule* and *demos* in the assembly. One particularly detailed text shows the levels of expectation. It is an honorific decree for the benefactor Menas in the Thracian city of Sestos, which is worth quoting at some length.[24]

Menas was praised by the *boule* and the *demos* of his city,

> because from his earliest manhood he believed it the finest course of action to make himself useful to his native city, [...] and when he was appointed gymnasiarch, he showed concern for the good discipline (*eutaxia*) of the ephebes and the young men (*neoi*), and took charge of the general good order (*euschemosyne*) of the *gymnasion* honourably and in a spirit of emulation, and he built the bath and the building next to it, and he dedicated a statue of white stone, and he built, in addition, the unfinished parts which were required; and at the birthday of the king, when sacrificing every month on

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[22] Polyb. 31.31 protests against the Rhodians' acceptance of financial support by Eumenes. For discussions of these various functions: Kah and Scholz 2004.

[23] Teos: *Syll.*^{3} 578; Miletos: *Syll.*^{3} 577; Beroia: *I.Beroia* 1 (= Gauthier and Hatzopoulos 1993).

[24] *I.Sestos* 1, ll. 2–4; 30–39; 53–54; 61–86 (translation, slightly adapted from Austin 2006, no. 252).

behalf of the *demos*, he instituted races[25] for the ephebes and the young men, and celebrated javelin and archery contests, and provided oil for anointing, and through the example of his own emulation (*philodoxia*) he encouraged the young men to exercise and train hard, for which the people welcomed his zeal and eagerness [...] and when he was invited a second time to serve as gymnasiarch, he submitted to this in difficult circumstances[26] [...] and he surpassed himself in the expenses he incurred and in his zeal; for when he entered office on the new moon, he celebrated sacrifices for Hermes and Herakles, the gods consecrated in the *gymnasion*, on behalf of the safety of the people and of the young men, and he organized races and contests of javelin and archery, and on the last day he offered a sacrifice and invited to the sacrificial rites not only those who have access to the *gymnasion*, but all others as well, giving a share of the sacred rites even to the foreigners; and every month when celebrating the appropriate sacrifices on behalf of the young men, he treated the gods who preside over the *gymnasion* with generosity and magnificence, by instituting javelin and archery contests and organizing races. He gave to the young men a share in the victims sacrificed by him, and encouraged through his zeal the young men to exercises and endurance (*philoponia*), which would cause the minds of the younger men by competing for bravery to receive a suitable training in moral excellence; and he gave to the men who oil themselves (*aleiphomenoi*) in the *gymnasia* a share in the offerings connected with the *gymnasion* for use at home, extending his beneficence even to the foreigners who have a share in the oil; and he dealt in a friendly way with all those who gave lectures, wishing in this, too, to secure for his native city glory through men of education; and he looked after the education of the ephebes and the young men, and he showed care for the general good order of the *gymnasion*, and he provided strigils and supplied oil for anointing, and celebrated a contest in honour of Hermes and Herakles in the month of Hyperberetaios, offering as prizes for the competitions for the young men and ephebes weapons that were engraved and bound in shield cases, on which he inscribed the names of the victors, and which he immediately dedicated in the *gymnasion*; and he offered second prizes; and he offered prizes for the boys and prizes for armed combat for the ephebes and the men, and similarly for archery and javelin throwing; and he offered weapons as prizes for the long race, for good discipline (*eukosmia*), endurance (*philoponia*), and good comportment (*euexia*); and after celebrating a sacrifice to the gods mentioned, and after organizing the *euandria* in accordance with the law, he invited to the sacrificial rites all the people with a share in the oil (*aleiphomenoi*) and the foreigners who share in the common rights (*koina*), entertaining them in a magnificent way and worthy of the gods and of the people.

[25] The word used, *diadrome*, may also refer to processions; I follow Austin 2006, no. 252 and J. Krauss, the editor of *I.Sestos* 1, in their translation as 'race'.

[26] The city was suffering attacks from neighbouring Thracian tribes, for which see the commentary on *I.Sestos* 1.

Not all inscriptions for gymnasiarchs are equally detailed or eloquent, but it is clear that the range of Menas' activities was not out of the ordinary: the construction and adornment of the *gymnasia*, ensuring the availability of oil and training utensils were everywhere essential, as was the organization of the contests where the ephebes and young men could prove their mettle.[27] The *gymnasia* offered a broad programme that intended to offer everything 'that was necessary'.[28]

Military training appears to have been a major concern. We find in several places that specialized instructors were appointed to instruct the young citizens and ephebes in riding, archery, and combat. Even though these *gymnasia* were not the boot camps for the Hellenistic armies, cities still had some fighting to do. But even where the military activities were largely limited to patrolling the countryside, the cities still liked to imagine themselves as a community of citizen-warriors. This image was emphasized even more than before. The ephebes' duties as *peripoloi*, and especially the presence of the *neoi* in armour at various civic occasions, underlined that the cities still wanted to convey an image of themselves as being able to raise a citizen army.[29]

At the same time, however, athletic training continued to be an important part of *gymnasion* life. As before, this was the place where the younger citizens would train to join an increasingly internationally oriented class of 'professional' athletes, who toured the growing number of Panhellenic festivals in the Hellenistic world.[30]

Other talents were also encouraged. The *gymnasion* also catered to the literary and rhetorical interests of the citizens. Menas mentions *akroaseis*, lectures that were given by travelling sophists.[31] Other inscriptions suggest that these were on the curriculum elsewhere, too, but the *gymnasion* was certainly no university.[32] Only large cities such as Rhodes and Athens will have been able to offer something approaching our 'higher education'.[33] Music could be on the programme too. Polybios mentions that in Arkadia music was an integral part of a permanent civic education that lasted from

27 Ameling 2004.
28 *I.Beroia* 1, B, l. 99.
29 Hatzopoulos 2004; Kah 2004.
30 Weiler 2004; Pleket 1998.
31 *I.Sestos* 1, l. 74.
32 Scholz 2004.
33 Polemaios of Kolophon went to Rhodes to round off his education: *Claros* I, 1, col. I, ll. 23–25 (= *SEG* 39.1243). See also Haake 2007, 223–226.

boyhood to adult age: 'For it is a well-known fact, familiar to all, that it is nearly unique for Arcadia, that in the first place the boys from their earliest childhood are trained to sing in measure the hymns and paeans in which by traditional usage they celebrated the heroes and gods of each particular place: later they learn the measures of Philoxenos and Timotheos, and every year in the theatre they compete keenly in choral singing to the accompaniment of professional flute-players, the boys in the contest proper to them and the young men in what is called the men's contest. Besides this the young men practice military parades to the music of the flute and perfect themselves in dances and give annual performances in the theatres, all under state supervision and at the public expense'.[34]

It should be obvious that the *gymnasion* was not like a school in the modern sense. Although boys sometimes had access to the facilities of the *gymnasion*,[35] older men were welcome too; in some cities, the different age groups even had their own *gymnasia*.[36] The age groups that dominated most *gymnasia*, however, were the ephebes, and, of course the young men (*neoi*), which means most citizens between roughly the ages of 20 and 30.

Membership of the *gymnasion* appears to have been relatively restricted.[37] Epigraphical (and papyrological) evidence suggests that the 'people of the *gymnasion*' were recognized as a special status group. The inscription for Menas singes out the *aleiphomenoi*, a term that we find in several other cities as well, including Hellenistic Babylon, where the term seems to have been used for designating a groups of Hellenized natives.[38] In Egyptian papyri they were known as *hoi ek tou gymnasiou*, and acted as a selective association.[39] The *gymnasion* of Beroia, which may have been more exclusive than most, was explicit in its social snobbery: 'Those who may not take part in the *gymnasion*: no one may enter the *gymnasion* and take off his clothes if he is a slave, a freedman, or a son of these, if he has not attended the wrestling schools, if he is a prostitute, or if he has exercised a trade of the agora, or if he is a drunkard or mentally disturbed. If the gymnasiarch knowingly allows any of these to anoint themselves, or does so after someone has reported to him and pointed this out, he shall be fined 1,000 drachmas'.[40] The

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34 Polyb. 4.20.

35 The times of admission could differ between age-categories, cf. *I.Beroia* 1, B, ll. 1–25.

36 A *gerousiakon gymnasion* is on record in Sardeis (*I.Sardis* 17), see van Rossum 1988, 178–188.

37 Kobes 2004.

38 *BCHP* 14, l. 4.

39 Habermann 2004.

40 *I.Beroia* 1, B, ll. 26–31.

excluded categories range from people of inferior juridical status, through professional groups, to categories of those considered morally or mentally unfit: they all remained untrained (*apalaistratos*). Social and physical inferiority were apparently considered to go hand in hand.

A well-known inscription from Kolophon for the benefactor Polemaios explicitly links elite status with a stay in the *gymnasion*. His splendid political career was preceded by his excellence in the *gymnasion*: 'At the age of an ephebe, he was a devotee of the *gymnasion*, and nourishing his soul with the most beautiful studies, he trained his body in the habits of the *gymnasia*, and he won crowns in sacred contests and brought them back to his fatherland, and he presented to the gods the sacrifices that he owed them, and as he strove from day one to make everybody participate in his life achievements, he presented distributions of sweet wine and he made them share in the generosities that his fortune allowed him'.[41] As an athlete, a benefactor, and later as a magistrate, Polemaios was presented as an exemplary citizen each time: a model for others (inside and outside the elite) to emulate.[42] Even if the *gymnasia* were probably not monopolized anywhere by the notables, the values of these latter remained dominant.

More important than social status is the importance of the *gymnasion* for civic status. The emphasis in the texts on the activities of the *neoi* suggests that the point of the *gymnasion* was only partly to prepare the younger generation for their future role as citizens; rather, the *gymnasia* seem to have offered a place where individuals could already participate in public life—or share in the *koina*, as it was phrased in the inscriptions for Menas. This would have been most relevant for citizens, but *xenoi* could be admitted by special permission. In such cases we should probably be thinking of a special category of resident foreigners, such as Roman *negotiatores* who wanted to become integrated in the *kosmos* of the city and rub shoulders with the young notables, rather than of any visitor with a casual interest in athletics.[43]

Training in the *gymnasion* was in itself a public activity. This is made explicit in an oration by Dio Chrysostom painting an idealizing portrait of the athlete Melankomas, whose exploits in the *gymnasion* were the object of civic pride: 'He was just like one of the most carefully wrought statues, and also he had a colour like well-blended bronze, moreover [he] was more

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[41] *Claros* I, 1, col. I, ll. 1–16 (= *SEG* 39.1243).
[42] Wörrle 1995.
[43] For Roman citizens in the *gymnasia*: Errington 1988.

courageous and bigger than any other man in the world, not merely than any of his opponents; and furthermore, he was the most beautiful. And if he had remained a private citizen (*idiotes*) and had not gone in for boxing at all [...] he would have become widely known simply on account of his beauty'.[44] But you did not have to be a grand champion to be able to perform a public role in the *gymnasion*. All ephebes and *neoi* could (and even had to) enter the many contests that were organized in the contexts of the *gymnasion*, and in particular the so-called judgment contests, as *euexia*, *eutaxia*, and *euandria* that invited younger citizens to display the civic qualities that were expected of all under the gaze of their fellow citizens.[45]

The second area that deserves our attention in this context is that of the auditoria in theatres, *odeia*, *stadia*, and hippodromes. The earliest theatres and *stadia* were built in the sixth century BCE, in the larger cities and the bigger Panhellenic sanctuaries. After the classical age, their numbers increased. Recent studies have shown that hundreds of theatres, *odeia*, *stadia* and hippodromes were built or enlarged in Greece, the Aegean regions, and western Asia Minor alone—but this kind of building was, of course, found all over the Greek world.[46] Even remote Aï Khanoum had a theatre that could seat about 5,000 people, which was only slightly less than the theatre of Epidauros. These architectural developments were not simply the result of a rising standard of living—which gave the cities more time and money for entertainment—but they seem, too, to have been an integral part of a wider transformation of the political culture, which generally took a theatrical, or spectacular turn, placing greater emphasis on the performance of political roles by members of the elite, as well as by the rest of the population, in public ceremonies that included, but were not limited by, the traditional political institutions.[47] These changes also affected the urban landscape in general. It is a striking aspect of architecture and town-planning of the period that design was more and more theatrical. Architecture provided a grandiose setting for civic life. Sanctuaries were embellished and expanded, with additional buildings and luxurious residences for visitors. Public places such as agoras became surrounded by prestigious stoas, which protected the citizens against the elements, but also offered room for impressive statues of kings and local benefactors, who had often paid for their construction in

44 Dio Chrys. *Or.* 28.5.
45 Crowther 1991 for an overview.
46 Moretti 2010 for the theatres; Mathé 2010 for *stadia* and hippodromes.
47 Chaniotis 1997.

the first place.[48] City councils supplied themselves with luxurious meeting places that often doubled as *odeia* for musical and rhetorical contests.[49]

All along the streets and on the public squares, statues and monuments were found, standing alone or crowning *exedrae* built by members of the leading families, giving the citizens an opportunity to sit literally under their shadow.[50] All in all, we have the impression that the civic landscape was everywhere designed as a theatrical setting that served as a spectacular backdrop for political and cultural life, and especially for civic festivals and processions that were organized in an attempt at civic self-expression or auto-celebration.[51] Public ceremonies and other ritualized collective practice had always existed, and, of course, had always had a civic function, but there is a clear shift in emphasis. Festivals retained a religious core, but the civic ingredients seem to have become ever more visible. The growing prominence of liturgical magistrates such as the *agonothetes* at the expense of priests is only one symptom of this development.[52]

Moreover, it is striking that there is a strong increase in the number of public inscriptions that mention public festivals and ceremonies. This was not simply a quantitative development; there was a qualitative shift as well. The record is dominated by large numbers of public documents recording the arrangement and regulation of each and every festival at increasing levels of detail, suggesting that festivals and public ceremonies were increasingly a core element of the political culture, which the cities wanted to preserve. Angelos Chaniotis describes this development as a growing 'functionalization' of the festival that now 'offered the *polis* the proper opportunity to undertake a diplomatic mission, to attract visitors, to demonstrate loyalty towards a king, to organize a fair, to represent itself, to transmit traditions to the youth, to strengthen its cohesion, to distract the attention of the poor from their problems'.[53]

Over the last few decades, festivals and ceremonies have become a popular subject of research by historians of antiquity, as well as those of the Middle Ages and the early modern period.[54] Most of this work has been inspired by the symbolic anthropology of Clifford Geertz, which sees culture as 'a

48 Coulton 1973; Dickenson 2012.
49 Kockel 1995.
50 Oliver 2007; van Nijf 2011b.
51 Chaniotis 1995.
52 Quass 1993, 275–281.
53 Chaniotis 1995, 162.
54 Muir 1981; 1997.

system of inherited conceptions expressed in symbolic forms by means of which men communicate, perpetuate, and develop their knowledge about and attitudes toward life'.[55] In this view, festivals and ceremonies are studied as spectacular demonstrations of power that offer a blueprint, a cultural manual for ordinary citizens to live their lives. This approach has yielded important insights into the role of ceremonies in public life, and, in particular, has allowed researchers to investigate the (para)political functions of religious events, such as processions, as well as the cultural meanings of more overtly political ceremonies, such as the *joyeuses entrées* of early modern rulers. There are some unresolved issues with this approach, however, which concern its static nature. The model does not seem to explain sufficiently why people are so affected by these spectacular ceremonies that they adjust their behaviour. Nor is it clear how festivals and ceremonies actually manage to coordinate the actions of people. Moreover, the model does not seem to offer either a clear answer as to how change was possible, except as the result of political action from the top down. How could ordinary people make their voices heard and be listened to? In other words, the model points at the importance of festivals for the expression of social ideals, but it does not sufficiently explain how these values and ideals can become constitutive of a social imaginary.

Such questions are, however, of central concern to Michel Chwe, a game theorist, whose twin notions of 'rational ritual' and 'common knowledge' go a long way towards explaining how rituals help people to coordinate their actions, and how change is possible in these circumstances.[56] Chwe argues (on the basis of observable human behaviour) that people are more likely to take a particular course of action, adopt an ideology, make a certain practical choice, when they know that other people in their situation do the same. The prerequisite of common action, therefore, is common knowledge. This is not the same as shared knowledge; i.e. the simple fact that people have access to the same information, but refers to the fact that this knowledge is also present at a meta-level. (People know that other people know that they have access to the same information, which makes it more likely that they accept and internalize the information, and act accordingly.) There are, of course, various ways in which information can be shared, and common knowledge can be created, for instance, by means of coinage, inscriptions (many monuments carry formulae that testify to this intention), advertis-

55 Geertz 1973, 89; 1980.
56 Chwe 2001.

ing, gossip, or nowadays Twitter, but Chwe argues for the importance of public ritual in this respect. The importance of rituals is that they let individuals interact with each other. A public ritual is first and foremost an occasion where all the members of a community are required to be present in one place, and jointly learn the cultural information contained in the spectacle—but especially to learn that everybody else has learnt the same thing. Successful public rituals have a political function that relies not simply on showing a particular cultural 'roadmap', but rather in making apparent, in a mass participation ritual, who else is using that same roadmap. In other words, rituals are a major contributor to the creation of a social imaginary, by turning into common knowledge the 'values, expectations, and implicit rules that express and share collective intentions and actions', as an influential definition of political culture has it.[57] I suggest that this approach may help us to make sense of the ritual and political developments in the Hellenistic city. It is important in this context to note that civic festivals and public ceremonies were not simply spectacular entertainment displayed to a passive population, but that they demanded that the ordinary population play an active role. Angelos Chaniotis, among others, has noted that festivals became heavily scripted events that involved the participation of large parts of the population in fixed roles.[58] Sacred laws and civic decrees that deal with their organization read, in the words of Chaniotis, like increasingly detailed dramatic scripts. Many texts show that processions, distributions, banquets, and contests became strictly regulated according to hierarchical principles, carefully listing all the participants and stipulating their roles in the spectacles. Some examples show clearly how the cities were keen to present an image of a well-ordered society. The first text deals with the foundation of an altar to Homonoia and a yearly procession in Antiocheia on Pyramos:

> On the day that the altar is dedicated, a procession will be held, as beautiful and glamorous as possible, from the altar of the *boule* to the sanctuary of Athena. The procession will be led by the *demiourgos* and the *prytaneis*. They will offer the sacrifice of a cow with gilded horns to Athena and Homonoia. In the procession shall participate the priests, the rest of the magistracy, the victors at the crown games, the gymnasiarch and the ephebes and the *neoi*, and the *paidonomos* with the boys shall participate in the procession. This day will be a holiday (…) The magistrate and the victors at the crown games shall gather in the sanctuary of Athena, all the other citizens will gather in groups

57 Hunt 1984, 10.
58 Chaniotis 1995.

> according to tribes (*phylai*). The *hieromnemon* and the *phyle*-presidents will be responsible for the good order (*eukosmia*) on this day.[59]

Another example was found in Magnesia on the Maeander, and concerns a sacrifice to Zeus Sosipolis:

> It has been decided by the council and the *demos*: that the *stephanephoros* in office, together with the male priest and the female priest of Artemis Leukophryene, shall ever lead the procession in the month of Artemision, on the twelfth day, and sacrifice the designated bull; that in the procession shall also be the council of the Elders (*gerousia*), the priests, the magistrates, both elected and appointed by lot, the ephebes, the young men (*neoi*), the boys, the victors in the Leukophryene games, and the victors in other crown games. The *stephanophoros*, in leading the procession, shall carry images (*xoana*) of all the twelve gods attired as beautifully as possible, and shall erect a round structure in the agora by the altar of the twelve gods, and shall lay out three couches of the finest quality, and shall also provide music, a shawm player, a pan-pipe player, and a lyre player.[60]

Such texts make clear how a shared 'social imaginary' could be created by involving large parts of the population in the collective performance of a ceremony that gave expression to the social order, and the increasingly hierarchical ideas underlying its organization. A similar development can be seen in the organization of the civic banquets. Pauline Schmitt-Pantel has shown that the inscriptions documenting the organization of civic banquets display a similar tendency to distinguish between different civic groups, and rank them. One late example is the case of Kleanax of Kyme who was honoured by his home town:[61] Kleanax 'was the first and only to assume the duties [*sc.* of the priesthood of Dionysos Pandemos] alone and he invited by proclamation the citizens and Romans and the residents and the foreigners, and held a banquet for them in the sanctuary of Dionysos, and he organized the feast sumptuously year after year, and when he celebrated the wedding of his daughter he also held a banquet for the masses'.[62] As a *prytanis* 'he performed the traditional sacrifices to the gods, and he distributed sweet wine to everyone in the city, and he put on spectacles sumptuously and he entertained sumptuously and for several days many of the citizens and Romans in the prytaneum […] and during the festival of the Lark, he was

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59 *LSAM* 81; Chaniotis 2013.

60 *I.Magnesia* 98 (trans. Price 1999, 174–175).

61 *SEG* 32.1243 (trans. Sherk 1988, no. 7 II E; 2nd cent. BCE–2nd cent. BCE).

62 Ll. 16–19: μόνος καὶ πρῶτος τὰν ἄρχαν ποησάμενος καὶ καλέσσαις ἐκ προγράφας τοίς τε πολείταις καὶ Ῥωμαίοις καὶ παροίκοις καὶ ξένοις ἀρίστ[ι]σεν ἐν τῷ τεμένει τῶ Διννύσω, καὶ πολυτελέως εὐώχις ἐκόσμει τὰν ἐόρταν κατ' ἐνίαυτον· γάμοις τε τᾶς θύγατρος ἐπιτελέων ἀρίστισε τὸ πλᾶθος.

the first and only to invite by proclamation the citizens and the Romans and the residents and the foreigners to a banquet in the prytaneum'.[63] On another occasion he 'gave a banquet to the priests, to the victorious athletes, to the magistrates and to many of the of the citizens',[64] and finally 'he held a banquet in the *agora* set up according to *phyle* to which he invited by proclamation the Greeks, the Romans, the residents and the foreigners'.[65]

Finally, hierarchizing tendencies are also visible in the theatres and stadia, which were not only the settings for musical or athletic contests, but also functioned as important stations for civic and religious processions, and provided benefactors with a suitable location for presenting handouts and distributions, or tossing out small gifts (ῥίμματα) to the citizenry.[66] Moreover, theatres were also frequently the sites of assembly meetings, which is a reminder of the closeness of the political and the spectacular. These places defined a whole sector of civic activity, demanding the appropriate dress, gestures, and maintenance of decorum of the citizens. A passage in Lucian shows what could happen if the citizens failed to comply: 'One of the citizens had been arrested and brought before the *agonothetes*, because he was watching in a coloured cloak. Those who saw it were sorry for him and tried to beg him off, and when the herald proclaimed that he had broken the law by wearing such clothing at the games, they all cried out in one voice (μιᾷ φωνῇ), as if by pre-arrangement, to excuse him for being in that dress, because, they said, he had no other'.[67]

In ancient auditoria spectators took part in the ritual performance, which was of course enhanced by the fact that the auditoria put the public as much on display as the performers on stage. To adapt Ovid's quip in the *Ars Amatoria*: 'everyone came to see the games but also to be seen'.[68]

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[63] Ll. 29–34: τὰ δὲ νῦν πρυτανεύσαις ἐπετέλε[σ]σεν μὲν τᾷ νέᾳ νουμηνίᾳ ταὶς θυσίαις τοῖς θέοισι κατ τὰ πάτρια καὶ ἐγλύκισσε τοὶς ἐν τᾷ πόλει πάντας καὶ ἐπετέλεσσεν θέαις πολυτέλεας καὶ ἐ̣ποίησε ταὶς εὐετηρίαις καὶ ταὶς θυσίαις κατ τὰ πάτρια καὶ εὐώχησεν ἐν τῷ πρυτανήῳ ἐπὶ πλήονας ἀμέραις πόλλοις τῶν πολείταν καὶ Ῥωμάοις; 36–38: ἐν τε τᾷ Κορύδονι̣ πρῶτος καὶ μόνος τοὶς μὲν πολείταις καὶ Ῥωμαίοις καὶ παροίκοις καὶ ξένοις ἀπὸ καρύ̣γματος ἀρίστισεν ἐν τῷ πρυτανήῳ.

[64] Ll. 39–40: τοίς τε εἴρεας κα[ὶ] εἰρονείκαις καὶ ταὶς ἄρχαις καὶ πόλλοις τῶν πολείταν ἀρίστισεν.

[65] Ll. 43–44: εὐώχησε κατὰ φ̣[ύλαις ἐν τᾷ] ἀγόρᾳ ἐκ προγράφας Ἕλλανας τε καὶ Ῥωμαίοις καὶ παροίκοις καὶ ξέν̣[οις].

[66] For a more detailed discussion: van Nijf 2012a.

[67] Lucian *Nigr*. 14 (trans. A.M. Harmon, Loeb edition): ληφθέντα μὲν γάρ τινα τῶν πολιτῶν ἄγεσθαι παρὰ τὸν ἀγωνοθέτην, ὅτι βαπτὸν ἔχων ἱμάτιον ἐθεώρει, τοὺς δὲ ἰδόντας ἐλεῆσαί τε καὶ παραιτεῖσθαι καὶ τοῦ κήρυκος ἀνειπόντος, ὅτι παρὰ τὸν νόμον ἐποίησεν ἐν τοιαύτῃ ἐσθῆτι θεώμενος, ἀναβοῆσαι μιᾷ φωνῇ πάντας ὥσπερ ἐσκεμμένους, συγγνώμην ἀπονέμειν αὐτῷ τοιαῦτά γε ἀμπεχομένῳ: μὴ γὰρ ἔχειν αὐτὸν ἕτερα.

[68] Ov. *Ars am*. 1.99: *Spectatum veniunt, veniunt spectentur ut ipsae.*

It should be noted, then, that the composition of the audience was far from random. In the classical Greek city, theatres were set up to express equality (*isonomia*) as the basis of the political order of the cities. Each wedge offered notionally equivalent places to all the individual members of a *phyle*—the only distinctions allowed were the seats in the front rows that were reserved for the (annually rotating) officials and priests. Distinction was thus represented as a function of the political organization of the city and its democratic institutions. In the Hellenistic and Roman periods, the auditoria did not lose this function, but there seems to have been a growing tendency to seat the population according to individual rank or collective status. Large numbers of honorific decrees show that benefactors, who became increasingly coterminous with the class of the notables, received front seats at the plays and contests. Moreover, seating inscriptions that were found on the benches of the theatres in many cities show that the seating became increasingly regulated for other categories as well.[69]

It is striking that the seating arrangements in the Hellenistic period abandoned these isonomic principles, and that spectators began to sit together with other members of their class or status group, arranged according to hierarchical principles. So, if we look at the theatres and stadia as 'inward-facing circles', we see that each auditorium was a representation of the leading concepts and values that informed social organization and political institutions. Each festival served as a structure of participation for groups with a stake in the community that had to be displayed in a public setting. The audience had a clear role in the ritual display: simply by sitting in their allocated places they showed, and hopefully internalized, their relative position in the civic hierarchy.

It would seem, then, that the rituals were used to create a specific image of the social order which reflected and underlined a new conception of society as a well-ordered and hierarchical unit. Still based on traditional Greek categories, processions, banquets, and seating regulations now reformulated civic identity in terms of its political hierarchy, composed of status groups,[70] on the basis of age group and civic function. Here we can see how these festivals could play a political role in the creation of a new social imaginary. Processions, banquets, plays, and contests were scripted by and for the elites, who thus imposed their sense of order on their fellow citizens. But by performing a role in the public festival, the participants showed that they had

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69 Van Nijf 1997, 224–234.
70 Rogers 1991, 96–99.

accepted the political order of which the festival was an expression—and the public nature of the festival made sure that their acceptance was 'common knowledge', making it much harder for people to dissent. It might be objected that festivals may have always displayed a particular civic order and that the processions at Athenian Panathenaia, for example, had a similar effect.[71] The difference seems to be that these political aspects became more prominent. Moreover, it is striking that the civic authorities considered these festivals important enough to be subject to explicit and detailed regulation, and more importantly that they put so much emphasis on publicizing these arrangements epigraphically, which suggests that they wanted to make sure that they became 'common knowledge'.[72]

The issue of publicity brings me to another important feature of the Hellenistic festivals, viz. the fact that their message was not limited to the local populations, but was also meant for a wider Panhellenic audience. The enormous rise of festivals in the Hellenistic period, which Louis Robert has compared to an 'agonistic explosion', generated an intensification of the contacts between the Greek cities which must have contributed to the creation of a common Panhellenic identity.[73] It had been, of course a centuries-old tradition for Greeks to gather and celebrate their common Greek identity at the traditional periodic Panhellenic gatherings at Olympia, Delphi, Isthmos, and Nemea. However, from the Hellenistic period onward, we see that individual Greek cities tried to insert their own festivals among the number of Panhellenic gatherings.[74]

We can follow the process in detail in the case of Magnesia on the Maeander, which wanted to 'upgrade' a local festival for its tutelary deity Artemis Leukophryene to 'Panhellenic status', by having the festival recognized as a crown-bearing festival by other Greek cities.[75] A first attempt in 221 failed, but in 208 they were more successful, after they had launched a huge diplomatic effort by inviting a large number of Greek cities in all corners of the Greek world, as well as a number of Hellenistic rulers and dynasts. The Magnesians inscribed copies of the letters of acceptance on the perimeter-wall

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[71] Neils 1996.

[72] Chaniotis 1995 and 2013 for the politicization; Chankowski 2005 argues that the detailed descriptions are mainly a phenomenon of the 'basse époque hellénistique'.

[73] Robert 1984.

[74] Van Nijf 2012a for a longer discussion.

[75] *I.Magnesia* 16. The most important texts are presented in Rigsby 1996, nos. 66–131. Recent discussions: Slater and Summa 2006, and Thonemann 2007. See also the contributions of Erskine and Stavrianopoulou in this volume.

of the agora, to remind themselves and their visitors of the fact that, once every four years, they were entitled to imagine themselves the centre of the wider Panhellenic world. A passage from the acceptance decree of the city of Antiocheia in Persis, which claimed kinship relations with the Magnesians, shows clearly the variety of cultural, religious, and political considerations that was used to justify the relationship between these distant cities:

> With good Fortune. Be it resolved by the council and the people, to praise the people of Magnesia for their piety towards the gods and for their friendship and goodwill towards King Antiochos III and the people of Antiocheia, and because if they make good use of their own advantages and of the prosperity of the city, they will preserve their ancestral constitution, and be it resolved that the priests should pay to all the gods and goddesses that their constitution should forever abide with the people of Magnesia for their good Fortune, and be it resolved to recognize the sacrifice, the religious festival, the *asylia*, the crowned competition as Isopythian and the musical, gymnastic and equestrian competition which the people of Magnesia celebrate in honour of Artemis Leukophryene because of their ancestral [*sc.* good relations?].[76]

Magnesia was unique in the richness of the epigraphic documentation, but there is no doubt that such relations were commonly evoked to construct the wider Panhellenic world. Cities appointed liturgists and magistrates to oversee the festivals, sent out and received *theoroi* (festival observers), and invited or subsidized successful athletes, who acted also as the go-betweens between the 'peer-polities' in this new multipolar world.[77] It may seem tempting to dismiss such developments as a part of the gradual depoliticization of the *polis* in the Hellenistic world. Greek cities that were no longer able to play an independent role on the international field, nor able to direct their own affairs, now focused their attention on cultural and symbolic practices, such as festivals. Moreover, it has been suggested that the theatricality of public life transformed the political beyond recognition, and reduced the Greeks from proud and active citizens to passive 'onlookers'.

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76 *I.Magnesia* 61, ll. 47–60 (trans. Austin 2006, no. 190) = Rigsby 1996, no. 111: ἀγαθῆι τύχη[ι·] [δ]ε[δ]ό[χθα]ι τῆι βουλῆι καὶ τῶι δήμω̣[ι· ἐπαι]ν̣έσαι μὲν Μάγν̣ητας τῆ̣ς τε πρὸς τὸ θεῖον εὐσεβείας ἕνεκεν καὶ τῆς πρὸς τὸμ βασιλέα Ἀ̣ντίοχον φιλίας καὶ εὐνοίας καὶ τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀντιοχέων, καὶ δ[ι]ότι τοῖς ἰδίοις ἀγαθ[οῖς] καὶ τῆι εὐημερίαι [τ]ῆς πόλεως καλῶς χρώμενοι δι[αφ]υλάσσουσιν τὴμ πάτριον πολιτείαν̣, ε̣ὔξασ[θ]αι δὲ τ̣οὺς ἱερεῖς θεοῖς πᾶσιν καὶ πάσαις, διαμένειν Μ[άγ]ν̣ησιν εἰς τ̣ὸ[ν] ἅπαντα χρόνον ἐπὶ τύχ̣ηι ἀγαθῆι τὴ[ν] πολε[ιτεί]αν ἀπ̣[ο]δ̣έ̣ξ̣ασθαι δὲ τὴν θυσίαν καὶ τὴν πανήγυρι[ν] καὶ τὴν ἐκεχ̣[ειρίαν καὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα στεφανίτην ἰσοπύθιον] τόν τε μου[σικὸν καὶ γυμνικὸν καὶ ἱππικὸν, ὃν] συντελοῦ̣[σι Μάγνητες τῆι Ἀρτέμιδι τῆι Λευκοφρυηνῆι] διὰ τὸ πάτρ̣ι̣[ον -].

77 For a longer discussion: van Nijf 2012a, for athletes van Nijf 2012, for associations van Nijf 2011a.

However, in view of the proposed cultural approach to the political history of the post-classical city, it may be more fruitful to investigate these festive activities as an integral element of the wider political culture than as a replacement of politics in a traditional sense. In fact, festivals and athletic contests provided each city with a package of values, institutions, laws, and symbols that were crucial to its self-presentation as a real '*polis*' governed by 'ancestral laws' and traditions.

As we saw above, these ancestral traditions also included a strong and vociferous role for the *demos*. It is interesting to note, therefore, that the *demos* could also play this role outside the context of the formal assemblies. Despite their insistence on presenting a peaceful and carefully ordered civic world, or the numerous dedications to Homonoia, many Greek cities must have found it difficult to achieve real concord. Behind the screen of the epigraphical documentation that presents the image of a well-ordered society, we may suspect a potentially unruly city-population that was keen to let its voice be heard during political meetings. The most likely places for these tensions to erupt were, ironically enough, the very festive occasions that were set up to display the image of civic harmony in the first place.[78]

The organizers of civic festivals seem to have been strongly aware that keeping good order was crucial to the success of the festival, and also that it was not always easy to achieve.[79] During processions, *pompagogoi* and other officials were appointed to keep the participants on the right track.[80] *Agonothetai* could be praised for maintaining *eukosmia*, or *eutaxia* in the theatre.[81] We saw above that these were exactly the qualities in which the ephebes and *neoi* were trained in the context of the *gymnasion*. And a text from Oinoanda in Asia Minor even shows that the organizers appointed special functionaries to maintain discipline.[82] But as much as the notables tried their best at crowd control, there was always a chance that matters would get out of hand, that there would be fights between rival groups of supporters, or that grievances against the organizing politicians would be expressed publicly.

Such riots or protests were also susceptible to the logic of common knowledge: there may have been widespread dissatisfaction, but only when it was

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78 A classic study of festive riots is of course Ladurie 1979.

79 Cf. *LSAM* 81.

80 Chaniotis 1995, 157.

81 *SEG* 30.1073, ll. 16–17; *IG* II^2 223 B, ll. 7–8 (= *Agora* XV, 34 B); 354, ll. 15–19.

82 *SEG* 38.1462, C, ll. 61–64 (σεβαστοφόροι, μαστιγοφόροι) with the commentary of Wörrle 1988, 202–203, 219–220.

publicly expressed and had become an object of common knowledge were individuals encouraged to join the protest, riots, or plunder. It is significant that riots in the post-classical Greek city often took place in a festival context—or at least in a theatrical setting. The most famous examples are, of course, found in late antiquity, when the hippodrome was often the setting for popular unrest, including the infamous Nika Riots of 532 CE. These lie far outside the chronological boundaries of this article, but we find earlier examples as well.[83] A description of riots in Alexandria in 204 BCE revolving around Agathokles, the unpopular regent of the young king Ptolemaios V Epiphanes. Polybios presents the *stadion* as the epicentre of a series of gruesome events:

> When day again gave place to night, the whole town was full of disturbance and torches and movement. For some collected in the stadium shouting, some were encouraging each other, others running in different directions took refuge in houses and places not likely to be suspected. The open spaces round the palace, the stadium, and the great square were now filled with a mixed multitude, including all the crowd of supernumerary performers in the theatre of Dionysos, and Agathokles [...] The Macedonians then took the king and at once setting him on a horse conducted him to the stadium. His appearance was greeted with loud cheers and clapping of hands, and they now stopped the horse, took him off, and leading him forward placed him in the royal seat. [... but the people] continued to shout, demanding that those who had caused all the evil should be taken into custody and made an example. [...] When the king's consent was announced, there was a deafening outburst of cheering and applause all through the stadium. The bloodshed and murders which followed were due to the following incident. Philo, one of Agathokles' attendants and parasites, came out into the stadium suffering from the effects of drink. When he observed the popular excitement, he said to those next him, that if Agathokles came out they would have cause to repent again as they had done some days before. Upon hearing this they began some of them to revile and others to hustle him, and when he attempted to defend himself some very soon tore off his cloak and others levelling their spears at him transpierced him. Then as soon as he was ignominiously dragged still breathing into the middle of the stadium and the people had tasted blood, they all eagerly waited the arrival of the others. It was not long before Agathokles was led in in fetters, and as soon as he entered some people ran up and at once stabbed him, an act of benevolence rather than enmity, for they thus saved him from suffering the fate he deserved. Next Nikon was brought there and after him Agathoklea stripped naked with her sisters and then all her relatives. Last of all they dragged Oinanthe from the Thesmophorion and led her to the stadium naked on horseback. All of them were delivered into the

[83] Humphrey 1986, 461 (Antiocheia); 510 (Alexandria); 630 (Thessalonike).

> hands of the mob, and now some began to bite them with their teeth, some to stab them and others to dig out their eyes. Whenever one of them fell they tore the body from limb to limb until they had thus mutilated them all. For terrible is the cruelty of the Egyptians when their anger is aroused.[84]

Polybios suggests that this kind of riotous behaviour could only happen among the barbarians of Egypt, but the scene had nothing 'Egyptian' about it; in fact, similar events occurred in the auditoria of Greek cities as well.[85] A well-known passage from the New Testament describes a tumult that nearly had a bad ending; it also had the theatre as its setting.[86] The arrival and the preaching of the apostle Paul caused quite a bit of unrest among the local silversmiths who feared that the success of Christianity represented a threat to their own livelihood, as well as to the reputation of the city and the goddess Artemis. A silversmith called Demetrios mobilized his fellow-Ephesians and as a result '[...] the city became filled with confusion, and with one accord they rushed into the theatre [...]'; there the situation was getting out of hand '[...] some were crying out one thing and others another; for the assembly was in confusion, and the majority of them did not know the reason why they had come together. [...] but when they recognized that he was a Jew, one cry arose from them all as they shouted for about two hours: "Great is Artemis of the Ephesians!"'.

This acclamation might have led to outright violence, but fortunately for the apostle Paul the *grammateus* of the city managed to calm down the crowd by pointing out that the events might bring about Roman displeasure. 'And when he had said these things, he dismissed the assembly'. This was not a political meeting, but it is striking how close the two domains were in the minds of the historical actors. The theatrical setting could be a source of political confusion; a spontaneous and potentially riotous gathering could be referred to in the same terms as a formal political assembly (*ekklesia*)—that of course also took place in the theatre—which shows the proximity between the political and theatrical spheres. For the inhabitants of Hellenistic cities, it was natural to air their political grievances in a theatrical setting.

84 Polyb. 15.30.2.
85 Cf. Ritner 1992, esp. 287–288, Mittag 2003, and Erskine in this volume.
86 *Act.Ap.* 19.23.

Conclusion

In the first part, I have focused on the *gymnasion* and argued that the practice of traditional Greek athletics, and the other practices associated with the *gymnasion*, played an important part in the creation of a social imaginary. On the one hand, we saw how the political elites received a thorough but rigid civic training which enabled them to represent themselves as embodying civic qualities, but we also saw that the *gymnasion* was a place where a much wider segment of the population—the ephebes and especially the *neoi*—were instructed in civic skills. The *gymnasion* was not simply a place for the 'Sozialisierung' of young citizens, but it was a place of permanent education in how to perform at civic festivals. In the second part of the paper, I looked at the theatre and the festivals, and argued that the political culture in the Hellenistic period adopted a distinct theatrical or spectacular character, which involved, on the one hand, a politicization of the festivals and other public ceremonies, and, on the other, a theatricalization of political life. The rising number of festivals contributed to the expression and circulation of the cultural and political ideas that underlay the social imaginaries in the Greek cities. The rise of the theatre and the *gymnasia* was not a sign of the de-politicization, but of the continuation of politics by other means.

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THE VIEW FROM THE OLD WORLD: CONTEMPORARY PERSPECTIVES ON HELLENISTIC CULTURE

Andrew Erskine

Introduction

Alexander the Great's overthrow of the Persian Empire set in motion a transformation of the political structures of the Eastern Mediterranean and the Near East. I say 'set in motion' because the shape of the Hellenistic world, as we know it, was as much a consequence of his death as of his achievements.[1] Leading Macedonians turned themselves from governors and satraps into warlords and kings, fighting with each other for control of parts of this empire. With these political changes came broader social and cultural change. Fundamental here was the foundation of new cities, from Alexandria onwards, populated with Macedonians and Greeks, coming as retired soldiers, as emigrants from the old Greek world and as traders. Through to late antiquity cities such as Alexandria and Antiocheia were flourishing centres of Greek culture and learning. The social, cultural and ethnic character of these new foundations is still a matter of intense scholarly debate.

But my focus in this paper is not so much on the new world as on the old world, in particular the Greeks of the mainland and the Aegean. I am interested in exploring the response of the old world to the new. What did the Greeks of the old world think of this new one? How did they view the transformation? This, of course, is something of an over-simplification; new and old may not be as clearly separated and defined as this suggests, but nonetheless it seems a useful question to ask. To put it another way, for the inhabitant of the Peloponnese was Alexandria as much a Greek city as Athens or Argos?

Certainly there was no shortage of contact between the old and new worlds. Contact in turn stimulated interest and brought knowledge. Leading citizens of the old world were to be found at the courts of the Hellenistic

[1] Cf. Erskine and Llewellyn-Jones 2011, xv–xvi.

kings, where they would use their influence to benefit their home cities.[2] Numerous honorific decrees survive, such as those from Athens honouring Kallias of Sphettos or the poet Philippides for their interventions with the Ptolemies or Lysimachos respectively.[3] These honours and the assembly meetings that led up to them would have been occasions for civic discussion of the Hellenistic kingdoms. Cities on the Greek mainland may have been far removed from any of the Hellenistic courts but, as a speaker in Polybios' history observed, kings and their interests were nonetheless a regular topic in the debates of the Achaian League.[4] Furthermore, civic representatives would be sent to royal festivals or to negotiate alliances; Polybios' father Lykortas, for instance, visited Alexandria for this purpose.[5] Others went as mercenaries, whether as rank-and-file soldiers or commanders, then there were the traders, keen to take advantage of these new markets.[6] All this brought knowledge of the new post-Alexander world to the older, long-established cities of the Greek world. At the same time for most part this knowledge will be based on hearsay. Most will never have been there, rather like the man in Theophrastos' *Characters* who pretends he campaigned with Alexander and discusses the relative merits of Asian and European craftsmen, even though he has never left his own town.[7]

So the opportunities for knowledge of the new kingdoms were there, but how conscious of the cultural impact of Alexander and the Successors were the Greeks at the time? Certainly they will have been aware of Alexander's conquest and defeat of Persian Empire. The outpouring of writing about the Macedonian king in the years immediately after his death shows the extent of Greek fascination with him.[8] But did they go further than this?

Plutarch's essay, *On the Fortune of Alexander*, might provide an example of how someone could interpret the cultural changes that followed in the wake of Alexander's conquests. Plutarch presents the slightly odd argument that Alexander should be numbered among the great philosophers because he educated so many in Greek ways. It is the conception of Alexander as a spreader of Greek culture that requires our attention here:

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[2] Cf. the studies of the king's *philoi*, Herman 1997; Savalli-Lestrade 1998; Paschides 2008.

[3] Kallias: Shear 1978, 2–4 (= *SEG* 28.60); Philippides: *IG* II^2 657 (= *SEG* 45.101); Plut. *Demetr.* 12.

[4] Polyb. 22.8.

[5] Polyb. 22.3.6.

[6] Mercenaries: Griffith 1935; Chaniotis 2005, 78–82; traders: Davies 1984, 283–285.

[7] Theophr. *Char.* 23.3.

[8] Nicely surveyed in Zambrini 2007.

> By founding more than seventy cities among barbarian peoples and sowing Asia with Greek institutions (τέλεσι),[9] Alexander overcame its uncivilised and savage way of living [...] If they had not been conquered, they would not have been made civilised; Egypt would not have its Alexandria, nor Mesopotamia its Seleukeia, nor Sogdiana its Prophthasia, nor India its Boukephalia, nor the Kaukasos a Greek city nearby; for the foundation of these cities brought the wild way of life to an end and what was inferior changed under the influence of what was better.[10]

There is much more in Plutarch's essay along these lines, repeating his theme of Alexander as bringer of Greek culture throughout the barbarian world, south to Egypt, east as far as India. Homer, he writes, is read throughout Asia, the children of the Persians, Susianians and Gedrosians recite the tragedies of Euripides and Sophocles and in Bactria the gods of the Greeks are worshipped.[11] Plutarch presents this as Alexander's purpose, a philosopher in action. But, regardless of Alexander's intention, Plutarch does express a long-influential interpretation of the Hellenistic world, that it saw the extension of Greek culture to non-Greeks, in other words non-Greeks started behaving like Greeks—and that this was a significant improvement. Plutarch, however, was writing under the Roman Empire, in the late first and early second century AD; consequently his conception of Alexander's mission may also have been shaped by his conception of Rome's imperial purpose, its imperial *humanitas* transforming its subjects.[12]

But it is hard to determine how established this view of Alexander as a civilising force was in the Hellenistic period itself (if it was established at all), because we have only limited evidence. Much may have been written at the time but so little survives. Moreover, as my question concerns the view from old Greece, there is even less evidence available since so much of the literary evidence that does survive is the product of Alexandria or is at least

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9 τέλεσι in this passage is usually translated in a rather institutional way, e.g. 'magistracies' (Babbitt), 'customs and constitutions' (Goodwin), and 'institutions' (Austin), but we should not overlook the word's ambiguity in a philosophical context. τέλος has strong philosophical connotations and is used for the goal or end of action (cf. Pl. *Grg.* 499e; Arist. *Eth. Nic.* 1.1–2, 1094a; Plut. *Mor.* [*Comm. not.*] 1070f, 1071c). The choice of such a word here may have been influenced by Plutarch's desire to present Alexander as a philosopher. τέλος is used in the singular at Plut. *Mor.* [*De Alex. fort.*] 332d, 342a. The problem of this sentence has not gone unnoticed; Bernardakis in his 1889 Teubner edition suggested amending Ἑλληνικοῖς τέλεσι to Ἑλληνικαῖς πόλεσι.

10 Plut. *Mor.* [*De Alex. fort.*] 328e–329a.

11 Plut. *Mor.* [*De Alex. fort.*] 328d.

12 Arsivatham 2005, although Plutarch's *Parallel Lives* show he also thought that the Romans were improved by contact with Greek things, cf. Swain 1990.

heavily influenced by it, writers such as Kallimachos, Apollonios Rhodios, or Herodas.

In the next section I want to focus on one writer who was undoubtedly from the old Greek world, the historian Polybios from the Peloponnesian city of Megalopolis. His treatment of the Hellenistic foundation of Alexandria in Egypt suggests that he did not think of the new cities of the Hellenistic world and their culture in the same way that he thought of old cities such as Athens or Sparta. Nor was he impressed. The final section of this paper will move away from the individual response of a single historian to see if epigraphic evidence can throw any light on the way the new Greek world of the east was perceived from the old one.

Polybios and the New World

Polybios offers a contemporary perspective, although contemporary to the second century BCE rather than the third century and the formative years of the Hellenistic period. His subject is the rise of Rome to world power with the focus on the period from 220 to the battle of Pydna in 168, hence his conception of his history as a universal history ranging over the known world. Rome's encounters with the Hellenistic kingdoms are very much part of that story. Although the year 168 was his original terminal point, Polybios eventually extended his history into the 140s. The history is now incomplete, especially the latter part which covers the Roman conquest of the Greek East, but what remains is illuminating nonetheless.[13]

In spite of the wide-ranging, universal character of Polybios' history, it is in some ways (given his aims) surprisingly parochial. There is a strongly Peloponnesian perspective to it, even though much was written in Rome. Thus his own Achaian League is singled out for special mention, the League's disputes with Sparta are a recurring presence in the history and Achaia's rivals the Aitolians meet with especially negative treatment.[14] More than this we might even see in Polybios' history, not merely the view from the Peloponnese, but the view from Megalopolis. His local Achaian rivals such

13 On the state of Polybios' text and his conception of history, Walbank 1972, 1–31; McGing 2010, 17–94.

14 See for instance the emphasis on the Achaian League in book 2, which gives the background to Rome's rise, dealing first with the character of the league (37–44) and then its war with the Spartan Kleomenes (45–70). For his negative treatment of the Aitolians see Champion 2004, 129–135.

Kallikrates of Leontion do not fare much better than the Aitolians; Kallikrates is represented as the man who effectively betrayed Greece to Rome.[15] When considering literature from the Greek world, it is easy to forget that what we think of as *Greek* literature is the product of a particular place and particular mentality. The label 'Greek' can in practice conceal considerable diversity. So Polybios may have had a distinctive interpretation of the Hellenistic east, one not shared by those living there.

After two introductory books Polybios begins his history proper at the 140th Olympiad (220–216 BCE), a date chosen because it was then, he believed, that the affairs of the inhabited world came together and so one unified history was possible. This is laid out clearly in the third chapter of his history:

> In earlier times the affairs of the inhabited world (οἰκουμένη) had been, so to speak, scattered, on account of their being separated by origins, results and place. From this point onwards, however, history becomes an organic whole, and Italian and Libyan affairs are interlinked with Asian and Greek affairs (ταῖς Ἑλληνικαῖς), all leading up to one end.[16]

Four regions are listed but they are conceived as two halves, on the one hand Italy and Libya, on the other Greece and Asia. It is Rome that would bring these two halves together, but the merging of Asian and Greek affairs had already taken place and for this Alexander and Macedon were responsible. As Polybios had put it in the previous chapter:

> In Europe the Macedonians ruled from the lands along the Adriatic as far as the Danube, which would appear to be a fairly small part of that continent. Later they also gained mastery of Asia when they overthrew the Persian Empire. But, although they were reckoned to have become rulers of a greater number of places and states than any people had ever done before, they still left the greater part of the inhabited world in the hands of others. For not once did they attempt to lay claim to Sicily, Sardinia or Libya, and as to Europe, if one is to be blunt about it, they did not even know of the most warlike peoples of the West.[17]

So Polybios sees a divided world, brought together in several stages, first by Macedon and then by Rome. The emphasis here is on rule and subjection, first the Persians rule Asia, then Macedon rules Asia and Greece, then Rome

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15 Polyb. 24.8–10, 30.29, 36.13; on Kallikrates' notorious speech in the Senate, Derow 1970.

16 Polyb. 1.3.3–6.

17 Polyb. 1.2.4–6; for further discussion of these passages and the Greek view of the West, see Erskine 2013c, a companion piece to this paper.

rules the world. This gradual unification of the world also has practical value for the historian; it brings with it greater knowledge of regions previously unknown and also greater access to them.[18]

Polybios' interpretation of these events, Alexander's conquest of the East and its consequences, is rather different from that of Plutarch. Where Plutarch sees the Macedonians and their new city foundations civilising the native population and introducing them to Greek culture, Polybios is more likely to see control and subjection; Greek culture instead of transforming those around is threatened by them and needs to be protected. Around Media, he says, Greek cities were built on Alexander's instructions as a defence against the neighbouring barbarians.[19] In contrast to Plutarch's Bactria where an idealised native population pays homage to Greek gods, Polybios' Bactria is a region which needs to be defended against nomads who threaten to barbarise the country—that at least is how the Bactrian ruler Euthydemos justifies his existence to Antiochos III.[20] In Egypt service in the army at the battle of Raphia in 217 encourages the native Egyptian population to feel that they no longer have to obey orders and can take control for themselves. The result is the native Egyptian revolts that would almost undermine Ptolemaic rule in Egypt, covered by Polybios in a lost part of his history.[21] The Seleukids are frequently struggling to deal with barbarians, both on the periphery of their territories and within them.[22] For Polybios there is no civilising mission; instead there was only the maintenance of rule, a theme that preoccupied him more generally and he was very conscious of the fragility of imperial rule.[23]

Further reflections on Alexander's achievement are to be found in two speeches reported by Polybios. They occur during a meeting of the Spartan assembly in 210 at which the Aitolian ambassador is trying to persuade the Spartans to join the side of the Romans against Philip V of Macedon and the Akarnanian ambassador is arguing against this. Scholarly interest has tended to dwell on these speeches as evidence for Greek attitudes to Rome,

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18 A point made at Polyb. 3.59.

19 Polyb. 10.27.3, cf. 5.44; according to Walbank 1967, 232–233 these were 'military settlements, not full cities', but it is Polybios' way of presenting them that is significant.

20 Polyb. 11.34.3–5, cf. Holt 1999, 129–131. Nor is Euthydemos' Greekness ignored; he is introduced as a Magnesian (11.34.1). Cf. also Mairs in this volume.

21 Polyb. 5.107.1–3 (cf. 5.65.9–10); see 14.12.4 for an allusion to Polybios' lost account of the native revolts. On the revolts themselves, McGing 1997 and Veïsse 2004.

22 Polyb. 5.44.7, 5.55, 10.29–31, 10.48.8, 11.34.5–6, 31.9.2.

23 Erskine 2003a.

but they also offer a glimpse at Hellenistic interpretations of earlier Macedonian history. First, the Aitolian ambassador Chlaineas condemns Alexander for his treatment of Thebes and the Successors for their treatment of the Greeks in general.[24] Then the Akarnanian Lykiskos responds to this as follows:

> You denounce Alexander because, believing that he had been wronged, he punished Thebes. Yet you make no mention of how he exacted vengeance from the Persians for their outrageous treatment of all the Greeks nor how he freed all of us together from great evils by enslaving the barbarians and depriving them of the resources that they employed to ruin the Greeks, sometimes stirring up and throwing together the Athenians and the ancestors of these people here [the Spartans], at other times the Thebans, nor finally *how he made Asia subject to the Greeks*.[25]

Speeches in histories are always problematic. Do they represent the view of the historian or the speaker? Certainly the interpretation of Alexander in this speech is consistent with what Polybios writes elsewhere, especially the stress on subjection and control observed above.[26] At the same time, however, regardless of whether or not anything like this was said by the speaker, Polybios thought that his readers would consider it plausible that such a speaker would say this; this was the kind of thing that they would expect someone to say about Alexander. We might, therefore, reasonably assume that it reflected more widely-held views of Alexander's campaign. It is noteworthy, too, that the speaker makes Asia subject to Greeks rather than Macedonians, so it is the Greeks who become rulers over Asian barbarians. This, however, must be understood within the context of a debate, in which one speaker highlights differences with Macedon and pushes links with Rome, while the other emphasises the shared interests of Macedon and the Greeks. But whether the emphasis is on Greeks or Macedonians, the essential idea is the same: that Asia was conquered and made subject.

The extant parts of Polybios unfortunately do not have much to say about the character of the new foundations of the Hellenistic world. Whether this is an accident of survival or reflects a lack of interest on Polybios' part is hard to know. The city that survives best in our Polybian evidence

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[24] Polyb. 9.28.8–29.12.

[25] Polyb. 9.34.1–3.

[26] Cf. also Polyb. 5.10.6–8. On Polybios' image of Macedon, Walbank 1970 with Billows 2000, 289–290 on the destruction of Thebes in Polybios. On the other hand, in spite of his hostility to the Aitolians, Polybios would seem to share the Aitolian speaker's view of the Successors and Antigonos' treatment of Greece; compare 9.29.5–6 with 2.41.8–11.

is Alexandria, a city visited by both his father in the 180s and by himself some forty or fifty years later.[27] This personal experience may have made the city more interesting but Alexandria also had importance because it was the permanent residence of the Ptolemaic court.[28] Two passages in particular stand out: his brief analysis of the population of Alexandria at the time of his own visit (although in this latter case known only through a summary in Strabo's *Geography*) and his account of the crisis and riots that followed the death of Ptolemaios IV Philopator at the end of the third century. Polybios' view of Ptolemaic Egypt may have been influenced by his sixteen or seventeen years as a detainee in Rome, but Romans will have been more interested in the Ptolemies themselves and their policies than in the character of Alexandria and its people.[29]

In the Strabo passage Polybios is reported as having identified three distinct groups in the Alexandrian population and the description of these three classes has generated considerable discussion. It is worth quoting the text in full:

> Polybios, who was in the city, was disgusted with its condition at the time and says that its population fell into three categories: first the native Egyptians, an acute and civilised people (τό τε Αἰγύπτιον καὶ ἐπιχώριον φῦλον, ὀξὺ καὶ πολιτικόν); secondly the mercenaries, troublesome, numerous and ill-disciplined; for it was an old custom to maintain foreign soldiers, men who due to the worthlessness of the kings had learnt to rule rather than be ruled; the third category was that of the Alexandrians, and these were not properly civilised (πολιτικόν) for the same reasons, but were still superior to the aforementioned. For although mixed (μιγάδες), they were nonetheless Greeks by descent and remembered the common customs of the Greeks.[30]

Strabo here is reporting Polybios and it must be allowed that the text that we have may convey the sense of what Polybios wrote rather than his exact words. For instance the word translated above as 'native' (ἐπιχώριος) is one that appears frequently in Strabo but rarely in Polybios, who preferred instead ἐγχώριος.[31] On the other hand, the use of ἐπιχώριος is itself odd, as

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[27] Lykortas: Polyb. 22.3.6; Polybios: 34.14 (= Strabo 17.12); on Polybios' visit, Walbank 1979a, 180–181, who dates it to some time after 145; Mittag 2003, 161 with n. 4 puts it in 140/139.

[28] The classic study of Alexandria is Fraser 1972, but there is extensive more recent bibliography in Cohen 2006, 353–381.

[29] On his detention in Rome, Erskine 2012; for his view of the Ptolemaic policy, Erskine 2013a, and of Egypt more broadly, Walbank 1979a.

[30] Polyb. 34.14.1–5 (= Strabo 17.1.12).

[31] A TLG search reveals only one instance of ἐπιχώριος in the surviving text of Polybios (4.20.8, used of local heroes and gods) in contrast to 23 instances of ἐγχώριος (e.g. 1.36.3, 7.5.3),

Strabo had employed it in a very different way only a few sentences before where it refers to local Greek magistrates in Alexandria who are ἐπιχώριοι as opposed to Roman. It is strange, therefore, that he should use it again almost immediately afterwards to refer this time to the native Egyptians of Alexandria. This repetition might suggest that Polybios did indeed use ἐπιχώριος on this occasion or perhaps that he used ἐγχώριος which Strabo then changed in accordance with his regular usage or under the influence of the earlier ἐπιχώριος.[32] Nonetheless the fundamentals of the passage surely reflect Polybios' own observations about Alexandria, observations shaped by his own background.

Polybios came as a visitor from the Greek mainland where the population of most cities would have been fairly homogenous (leaving aside slaves), so the varied population of Alexandria, Egyptians, mercenaries and Greeks, would have been very different from what he was used to in Megalopolis; it may have been more reminiscent of Rome, where he had spent many years. The order in which the three classes are given is striking. Polybios is not reported as having begun with Greeks but instead with Egyptians followed next by mercenaries, whose ethnic background is likely to have been varied.[33] The Greeks come last. So in spite of the fact that it is the Greeks who are identified as Alexandrians (presumably signifying that they are the citizens), it is the Egyptian character of the city that is placed in the foreground. The positive evaluation of the Egyptians here has troubled some scholars who have sought to emend the text, often by negating πολιτικόν in some way; the unusual phrase ὀξὺ καὶ πολιτικόν is puzzling in the context but it is more useful to acknowledge the problem than to impose an alternative and then treat this new version as the Polybian text.[34]

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one of the latter referring to the Egyptians (5.65.5). Strabo's *Geography* has 50 other examples of ἐπιχώριος (e.g. 2.5.1, 5.2.2) and 5 of ἐγχώριος (e.g. 3.5.7). Goldhill 2010 has a full discussion of the use of ἐπιχώριος in Greek writers from the classical to the Roman period (with pp. 54–55 on Strabo).

32 Significantly in spite of Polybios making so little use of ἐπιχώριος (see n. 31 above) it is used twice in Strabo's citations of Polybios; apart from this passage it is found at Polyb. 34.3.9 (= Strabo 1.2.16).

33 Fraser 1972, vol. 1, 81 stresses Gauls and Cretans.

34 An emended text seems to lie behind Fraser's very negative view of the Egyptians, (1972, vol. 1, 61, quoting the passage; vol. 2, 144–145 on textual problems; vol. 1, 81–83 on the Egyptians, capable of 'mass bestiality'). Walbank 1979b, 629 follows Tyrwhitt in reading οὐ πολιτικόν, while noting alternatives such ἀπολιτικόν and ὀχλητικόν. For a defence of the text as handed down, Ritner 1992, 287–288, suggesting that scholarly prejudices lie behind

The Alexandrian Greeks themselves do not fare well in this description. They may be the citizens but they are not properly πολιτικοί. Furthermore, although they are at least Greek in origin, there is a sense in this passage that they are hanging onto that Greek identity. The use of the word ἀνέκαθεν (by origin or descent) distances them from their Greek roots; indeed their common Greek customs are not simply things they do but things they have to remember.[35] This was not a remark that Polybios would have been likely to make about the inhabitants of Megalopolis, but there may be an element of self-reflection here as he thinks about his own experience of living away from his Greek roots, in his case his enforced detention in Rome.[36] The Alexandrian Greeks are also described as μιγάδες, a term that has often been translated to suggest that they are half-castes in some way; Paton in the Loeb translation of Polybios opts for 'mongrel' while Walbank gives both 'of mixed stock' and 'of mongrel stock', Ogden prefers 'mixed race' and Mittag translates as 'Mischlinge'.[37] This, however, is to misunderstand the passage. The more common meaning of μιγάδες is 'mixed together' and that most likely is what Polybios has in mind here. Alexandrian Greeks would have been mixed in two senses: firstly they originally came from many different Greek cities and secondly they now shared Alexandria with the Egyptians and the mercenaries, the two groups that Polybios had already mentioned.[38] Yet they nonetheless are able, albeit with difficulty, to maintain their Greek identity.

Polybios would have emphasised the Egyptian population, in part at least, because he saw many native Egyptians in the streets of Alexandria and heard

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the desire to emend it. In favour of the manuscript reading one could point to the positive tradition about the Egyptians that can be found as early as Herodotos, book 2 (cf. Lloyd 2010), a writer that Polybios would have been familiar with (McGing 2010, 53–61); furthermore Strabo himself at the beginning of the same book refers to the Egyptians as living πολιτικῶς καὶ ἡμέρως ἐξ ἀρχῆς (17.1.3).

35 This could be compared with the way that other authors described the loss of Greek identity among the Greeks of south Italy, thus Athenaeus (14.632a) writes of the fading memory of Greek customs among the people of Poseidonia/Paestum, cf. also Strabo 6.1.2.

36 On Polybios in Rome, Erskine 2012; Dubuisson 1985 has argued in detail that Polybios' Greek was influenced by his familiarity with Latin, on which see more recently Langslow 2012.

37 Paton is followed by Momigliano 1975, 37, Goudriaan 1988, 118 and Spawforth 2006, 13; mixed/mongrel stock: Walbank 1979a, 182, cf. also Walbank 1979b, 629, drawing a comparison with μιξέλληνες; mixed race: Ogden 1996, 354; Mittag 2003, 162.

38 Cf. Lane Fox 1973, 543: 'Greeks of mixed Greek origin, not Greco-Egyptians'; for μιγάδες as coming together from different sources, cf. Isoc. *Panath.* 124; *Paneg.* 2, see further Erskine 2013b.

the Egyptian language around him.[39] But he may also have been struck by the visual aspect of the city itself.[40] Scholarship has long viewed Alexandria as a very Greek city, but increasingly archaeological discoveries, particularly those from the Great Harbour, are suggesting that the city's appearance was more Egyptian than previously imagined.[41] In addition to familiar Greek monuments and artistic forms there were elements that were decidedly Egyptian, such as obelisks, sphinxes and even pharaonic-style statues of the Ptolemaic kings themselves.[42] The layout of the palaces with their gardens and ornamental pools may also have owed something to the traditions of the New Kingdom.[43] But the Egyptian character of the city may have been more pervasive than this, present throughout the city in the very form of the buildings. Little is known about Alexandrian houses, but since native Egyptians are likely to have been among those building them and in doing so are likely to have used Egyptian techniques, we might expect the resulting buildings to have a certain Egyptian feel to them, perhaps in some cases even with the flat roofs characteristic of Egypt.[44] This Egyptian look to the city should not be exaggerated but Polybios would have observed that it was different, unlike the cities he was familiar with on the Greek mainland and also unlike Rome.

At the same time his mainland perspective and assumptions could have led him to overlook those elements that were not so obvious. There is no mention, for instance, of Jewish inhabitants, even though by the second century BCE they are believed to have made up a substantial part of the city's population; one estimate even puts them as high as a third, but it must be remembered that evidence for the population levels of any of the various groups within the city is sketchy.[45] Unlike Greeks, soldiers and

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39 Riad 1996, Abd-el-Ghani 2004, 161–163; Scheidel 2004, 24–27 suggests that Egyptians may have made up the largest ethnic group within the city.

40 I am indebted to Ann Kuttner for drawing my attention to the visual aspect and her very helpful suggestions.

41 For an overview of the results of the underwater archaeology, see Empereur 1998; Goddio et al. 2008, and Hawass and Goddio 2010 (esp. 134–171 on Alexandria).

42 Ashton 2001 and 2004, Davoli 2010, 364 on monuments and art; for the broader reception of Pharaonic Egypt, Lloyd 2010, 1078–1085.

43 For the influence of Egyptian gardens in Alexandria, see Carroll 2003, Winter 2006, 169, more generally Evyasaf 2010.

44 McKenzie 2007, 32–35 notes Egyptian influence and suggests the possibility of flat roofs (p. 34) as does Winter 2006, 177–178. It is noticeable that in construction the Egyptian cubit was used rather than the Greek foot, McKenzie 2007, 24.

45 For the Jews of Alexandria, Fraser 1972, vol. 1, 54–58, Barclay 1996, 27–34. Population

Egyptians, however, the Jewish population may not have been such a visible and distinct presence to a Greek visitor.[46]

Alexandria emerges from this brief Polybian characterisation as being as much Egyptian as Greek. A similar blurring of ethnic and cultural lines can be seen in his treatment of the events in Alexandria following the death of Ptolemaios IV Philopator at the end of the third century. This appears in the fifteenth book of his history, written before he ever visited Alexandria himself.[47] The dead king's former adviser Agathokles attempts to make himself the most powerful man in the kingdom as guardian of the young Ptolemaios V, who is still a minor. His reputation, however, is not helped by stories circulating that he was responsible for killing the queen. Opposition to Agathokles grows, culminating in a riot and the lynching of himself and members of his family.[48] Prominent among the initial leaders of the opposition is an army unit known as the Macedonians. While this unit may originally have been composed of Macedonians, it is likely to have been a more diverse group at this stage. Yet Polybios repeatedly mentions them by name throughout his narrative, the effect of which is to promote the idea of Alexandria as a Macedonian city.[49]

But it is the Alexandrian people that ultimately come to dominate the narrative. Much of the time they are referred to by the pejorative term, ὄχλος, both in singular and plural, best translated as mob.[50] This is a very negative term in Polybios' vocabulary, as comes out most clearly in his account of the *anakyklosis* of constitutions in book 6, where ochlocracy (ὀχλοκρατία), the degenerate form of democracy, is the very last and worst of the cycle of constitutions, characterised by a descent 'into force and the rule of violence

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estimate: Paget 2004, 146, cf. Delia 1988 for the Roman period, though in the early third century BCE the Jewish population may have been quite small, Honigman 2003, 100–101.

46 Polybios has little to say about the Jews in what survives of his history, although he apparently planned to write an account of Jerusalem and the temple there (Polyb. 16.39 from Joseph *AJ* 12.3.3) and may even have written it in a lost part of the history.

47 Polyb. 15.25–34; the mention of Carthage within this passage at 15.30.10 implies that Carthage still existed at the time, which would place its composition before Polybios' visit to Alexandria (on the date n. 27 above); on process of composition of whole history, Walbank 1972, 16–19.

48 On the riot note Barry 1993 and Mittag 2003, the latter covering political unrest in Hellenistic Alexandria in general (with 168–172 focussing on the events of 203).

49 Polyb. 15.26.1–8, 15.28.4–29.1, 15.31.2–4, 15.31.10–32.3. On the identity of these 'Macedonians', Walbank 1967, 488–489.

50 Polyb. 15.32.4, 15.32.7, 15.33.9; this presentation of the Alexandrians is not limited to Polybios, see Fraser 1972, vol. 1, 128–129 with n. 301.

(εἰς βίαν καὶ χειροκρατίαν)'.[51] Polybios complained that some writers had overly sensationalised these events in Alexandria, thereby implying that his own rather dramatic account should be accepted as a faithful representation of what happened.[52] The crowd gathered in the stadium and lynched each member of Agathokles' family as they were brought in. The description is brutally vivid:

> When they were all handed over to the mob, some began to bite them, some to stab them, and others to gouge out their eyes. As soon as one of them fell, they ripped the limbs off until they had mutilated them all. For terrible is the savagery of the people of Egypt (τῶν κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον) when their passions are roused.[53]

There is no indication here or anywhere in the account what the ethnic background of this mob was. Peter Fraser in *Ptolemaic Alexandria* had no doubt that Polybios was here referring to native Egyptians, but offered little of substance in support of his contention.[54] Rather Polybios' lack of precision shows that he is not concerned to distinguish the Greek from the native population. For him they are simply 'the people of Egypt', distinguished by place (κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον) rather than ethnicity. Their extreme behaviour, literally tearing their victims apart, is shocking and confirms the generalisation that follows: that the people of Egypt are cruel when angry. Certainly savagery and passion are regularly used by Polybios as attributes of those who are not Greek or who are not behaving in a Greek way, but Polybios is not picking out a particular part of the population.[55] He has in mind the people of Alexandria as a whole; the crowd gathered, he says, from every part of the city (ἐξ ἁπάσης τῆς πόλεως).[56] Alexandria here is far from being a Greek city, but, as observed above, Polybios did not think that the Greeks of Alexandria were properly πολιτικοί, surely a characteristic of Greeks from a

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51 Polyb. 6.4.7–10, 6.8.5–9, 6.57.9; for Polybios' use of ὄχλος and his negative view of the masses, Eckstein 1995, 129–140 and Mittag 2003, 161–166.

52 Polyb. 15.34.

53 Polyb. 15.33.9–10.

54 Fraser 1972, vol. 1, 82, although few will have been won over by his citation of an 18th dynasty papyrus, which recorded remedies against human bites. Barry 1993 argues that the crowd, far from being Egyptian, was 'a rough cross-section of the Alexandrian community' (p. 431).

55 Erskine 2000 with particular reference to the Romans, Champion 2004, 83 and Eckstein 1995, 119–129 (esp. 122 and 126).

56 Polyb. 15.30.9, cf. also 15.30.2 (πᾶσα [...] ἡ πόλις, 'the whole city'), 15.30.4 (ὄχλου παντοδαποῦ, 'mixed crowd').

proper Greek *polis*.[57] During the narrative he makes an interesting observation about the composition of a riotous crowd. It consisted not just of men but of women and children, a characteristic that Alexandria, he says, shares with Carthage. Here Alexandria is being aligned with another North African city and one that is not even Greek.[58]

There is a sense in Polybios that there was an Egyptian character that was independent of ethnicity. The *strategos* of Cyprus, Ptolemaios, is described as 'not at all like an Egyptian, but a man of good sense and practical ability' (οὐδαμῶς Αἰγυπτιακὸς γέγονεν, ἀλλὰ νουνεχὴς καὶ πρακτικός).[59] If the identification with Ptolemaios Makron is correct, then this man would have been a citizen of Alexandria and as governor of Cyprus he is hardly likely to have been a native Egyptian.[60] Similarly, when Polybios sums up the life of Ptolemaios VI, he writes that the king suffered from 'a sort of Egyptian wastefulness and laziness' (ἀσωτία καὶ ῥᾳθυμία Αἰγυπτιακή).[61] Both these instances suggest that there were Egyptian stereotypes that were applied to people in Egypt regardless of ethnicity. That the Greeks and Macedonians who moved to Egypt took on Egyptian characteristics may have been understood not so much in terms of cultural interaction with Egyptians but rather as a consequence of inhabiting the same environment as the native population and so being shaped by the geography and climate of their new land. Such ideas were current long before the Hellenistic age and can be seen already in the fifth century BCE in the Hippocratic *Airs, Waters, Places*.[62] Polybios himself does not apply these ideas to Egypt anywhere in the surviving text but he

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[57] Cf. the way he opposes barbarians and πολιτικοί at 23.10.4–5 and 1.65.7, Glockmann 1984, esp. 553, Champion 2004, 83.

[58] Greek views of Carthage are very mixed; it is both barbarian (Hdt. 7.158, where Gelon compares Carthaginians to Persians) and worthy of comparison to Greeks in terms of constitution (Arist. *Pol.* 2.1272b22–73b27). For perceptions of Carthage, Erskine 2013c, 27–29, Isaac 2004, 325–335, both tending to stress the negative, and Barceló 1994 arguing the classical view was more positive.

[59] Polyb. 27.13.1, see Walbank 1979a, 59.

[60] Identified with Makron, Bagnall 1976, 256–257, Walbank 1979b, 311–312; for Makron and other Alexandrian citizens in Ptolemaic service: O'Neil 2006, 19; on the type of men who served as *strategoi* of Cyprus, Bagnall 1976, 45–46.

[61] Polyb. 39.7, cf. 18.55, Polykrates of Argos, governor of Cyprus, who worked hard in that position to keep the kingdom secure and financially viable, but on his retirement to Alexandria slipped into a life of depravity, Bagnall 1976, 253–254; this decline is quite a contrast to his Hellenic vitality when he arrived in Egypt around the time of Raphia, 5.64.5.

[62] Hippoc. *Aer.* 16–18, cf. Hdt. 9.122 and Arist. *Pol.* 7.1327b23–33; on the development of the theme, Sassi 2001, 105–139, Ferrary 1988, 382–394 and Williams 2001, 67–72 (who rather underplays Polybios' awareness).

was aware of them.[63] They are, however, voiced with reference to Egypt by a speaker in Livy. Manlius Vulso in a speech to his army before a battle against the Gauls of Asia in 189 BCE claims that the Gauls have been made soft by the Asian environment. He compares them to the Macedonians of Alexandria, Seleukeia and Babylon, who have degenerated into Egyptians, Syrians and Parthians respectively. 'Everything', he says, 'grows best in its own home; when sown in alien soil its nature changes and it degenerates into that from which it gets nourishment'. This speech seems to have been Livy's own creation and not taken directly from Polybios, but Polybian influence cannot be excluded.[64]

Overall the impression is that, whatever Polybios thought Alexandria was, he did not think about it in the same way as he thought about Greek cities nearer to home, Greek cities of the old world. It is noticeable that while he freely talks of Greeks and Greek affairs when his focus is on the Greek mainland and the Aegean he does not do so nearly as readily when his subject is Asia or Egypt.[65] His method of working, treating the events of Greece, Asia and Egypt separately, would have encouraged this, but his conception of the world will in turn have shaped the organisation of his material.[66] Greek affairs in this way easily become separated from those of the kingdoms of Asia and Egypt. Thus, he can criticise Athens, after its liberation in 229, for taking no part in Greek affairs and instead devoting itself to all the kings, especially Ptolemaios.[67] That opposition is perfectly natural for him. The kingdoms are places where Greek and non-Greek exist alongside each other and which cannot easily be defined as one or the other. When the Seleukid rebel Achaios is trying escape from Sardeis during Antiochos' siege of the city, he and his four companions pretend that, with one exception, they are all barbarians and so unable to speak Greek.[68] This may well have been the case but it is also a story that tends to confirm the assumptions of Polybios and his readers about the new world of the Hellenistic kingdoms.

63 Cf. 4.21 on Arkadia, Champion 2004, 78–80.

64 Livy 38.17; Briscoe 2008, 76 argues that it is Livy's own invention (cf. Walbank 1979b, 147–148), although others, have seen a Polybian basis for it, Tränkle 1977, 130 and Walsh 1993.

65 For instance, Polyb. 5.104–106, 9.32–39, reflecting the arguments of Greek politicians. The Greeks of Asia Minor are not ignored—they were a longstanding part of the Greek world, cf. Polyb. 11.4.6, 18.44.2, 18.46.15 (both on Roman proclamation of freedom in 196 BCE), 21.22.7.

66 For Polybios' division of his material by regions, Walbank 1972, 103–111.

67 Polyb. 5.106.6–8.

68 Polyb. 8.19.8–9.

In this his view may have been shared by other Greeks of the old world. This comes out in a story he tells of a boxing match at Olympia between the celebrated Theban boxer Kleitomachos and the otherwise unknown Aristonikos, a challenger sponsored by Ptolemaios. The storyteller may be Polybios but the reader is drawn into the scene and so shares the perspective of Kleitomachos and the crowd. When Kleitomachos felt the crowd was supporting his challenger, he turned to them and addressed them: 'Were they ignorant of the fact that Kleitomachos was at that moment fighting for the glory of the Greeks and Aristonikos for that of King Ptolemaios? Would they rather see an Egyptian carry away the Olympic crown after defeating Greeks or hear a Theban and Boiotian announced as victor in the boxing?'. With this the crowd pulled behind Kleitomachos and victory was his. 'Egyptian' has a certain derogatory force here and the Greek-Egyptian opposition is clear, even though as a competitor at the Olympics and bearing a Greek name Aristonikos was surely Greek.[69]

Other Perspectives

Whether these views of Polybios are typical of mainland Greeks is something that must be considered. The story of the boxing contest suggests that he was not alone, but other contemporary literary evidence is hard to come by. Fortunately, there is an alternative thanks to the Greek fondness for inscribing their public documents. Whereas Polybios gives us an individual perspective that may have been shared by others, such public documents necessarily offer a collective view. In so far as they offer a perspective on the new world it tends to be indirect, however, their value lying in the underlying conceptualisation rather than any direct comment.

Panhellenic festivals offer a useful starting point: who counts as Greek here? Back in the fifth century the Macedonian king Alexander I had famously had to prove his Greek heritage in order to participate in the Olympics.[70] Now it was the new world that looked to the great Panhellenic centres of the old world. The Ptolemaic admiral Kallikrates of Samos, for example, was

69 Polyb. 27.9.

70 Hdt. 5.22; scholars commonly use the term 'Panhellenic' of festivals, such as the Olympics, Pythian and Nemean which could be attended by the whole community of Greeks, but as Parker 2004, 11 points out 'the concept was not one that had a fixed and regularly used equivalent in Greek'.

active at both Olympia and Delphi. He made an impressive dedication in honour of his royal patrons at Olympia and when he won the chariot race at Delphi he made another dedication to them, this time a bronze statue of a chariot, most probably in Alexandria. In each case, therefore, Alexandria is connected back to the old world of mainland Greece.[71] But what was the view from the centre looking out?

There is a fascinating document from the Greek world's traditional centre, Delphi, in the form of a *theorodokia* list dating from the later third to the early second century. A *theorodokos* was someone who acted as the host of visiting *theoroi*, sacred ambassadors. This inscription records the names of the hosts of the Delphic *theoroi* in each of two hundred Greek cities that would have been visited by the *theoroi* as they travelled to make announcements on behalf of the sanctuary.[72] Their itinerary took them through mainland Greece, the Aegean and along the coast of Asia Minor. In the west they journeyed as far as Massalia and visited Sicilian cities such as Syracuse and Tauromenion and Italian ones such as Tarentum and Rhegion.[73] Such cities, the product of colonisation dating back to the eighth century BCE, had long been part of the Greek world. But what of the new world of the Hellenistic East? Here Delphi seems to have been strangely selective, even allowing for the incompleteness of the inscription. New foundations in and around Macedon do appear, cities such as Thessalonike, Kassandreia and Demetrias; in these cases the region, if not the cities themselves, would have been part of the Delphic catchment area for many years.[74] But new foundations elsewhere are less common. A single Syrian city features in the list, the coastal city of Laodikeia on the Sea.[75] A number of Ptolemaic foundations also occur, Arsinoe, Berenike and Ptolemaïs, but on closer inspection they all turn out to be in Cyrenaica, so are located in an old Greek enclave in North Africa.[76] Delphi appears, then, to have been very conservative in

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71 Bing 2002–2003, for whom Kallikrates is a man who mediates 'between the new world and the old' (p. 254).

72 Plassart 1921 for the text with discussion. Various dates have been proposed: 220s: Daux 1949, Hatzopoulos 1991 with *BE* 1994, no. 432 opt for the 220s, Knoepfler 1993 for the 210s, Plassart 1921, Manganaro 1996 for the early second century. See also *SEG* 43.221 and 46.555. For the institution of the *theorodokia*, Perlman 2000.

73 Plassart 1921, col. IV, ll. 83–117.

74 Plassart 1921, col. III, ll. 66, 77, 125; these are among many cities visited in the region, ibid, pp. 52–56.

75 Plassart 1921, col. IV, l. 78 'singulièrement perdue dans cette colonne', notes Plassart, p. 66.

76 Plassart 1921, col. IV, ll. 17–19, on which ibid, p. 62 and Cohen 2006, 390.

its conception of the Greek world. Where it does embrace the new world it stays close to the Mediterranean coast and for the most part to the regions it knows. Notably absent are the main centres of the Hellenistic world, cities such as Alexandria, Antiocheia, Seleukeia and Apameia, although Delphic *theoroi* to Alexandria do appear in other epigraphic texts.[77]

One group of cities, however, did embrace the new order, the Greek cities of Asia Minor and the eastern Aegean. Previously on the margin of the Greek world in close proximity to the Persian Empire, sometimes even part of it, these cities could now see themselves in a much more central position. In this region there was an increase in the number of claims to inviolability (*asylia*) by states on behalf of their chief sanctuary or on occasion both their city and their sanctuary if the latter was located within the city.[78] These states might at the same time try to set up their own Panhellenic festival. To achieve these objectives required considerable effort and use of resources, since a claim to inviolability and the establishment of a Panhellenic festival could only be valid if there was widespread acceptance among the community of Greeks. This, therefore, led to a significant campaign by the city to obtain recognition from their fellow Greeks. Groups of sacred ambassadors, *theoroi*, would travel round the Greek world, making the case for their city; they would address the assemblies of cities they visited, produce supporting documents and look to receive an affirmative decree to take home with them.[79] The resulting decrees form an image of the perceived extent of the Greek world, at least as perceived from that city. No doubt too, the more widely-dispersed the Greeks who acknowledged the *asylia* and the Panhellenic status of the festival, the more authoritative was the claim.

The earliest substantially-documented example of an *asylia* campaign is that of Kos, which lay off the coast of Asia Minor near Halikarnassos. In the late 240s it began a campaign on behalf of its temple of Asklepios. More than forty decrees survive, though many others will have been lost.[80] There are replies from Hellenistic kings, most probably Ptolemaic and Seleukid, one from the Bithynian king Ziaelas, a large number from cities of northern Greece and Macedon, several from Peloponnesian cities such as Sparta and Elis, some Cretan cities, and four from cities in the West. The approach to the

[77] *OGIS* 36, l. 150, cf. Parker 2004, 16, who notes that the Delphic *theorodokia* inscription 'at first glance […] still looks like the Greek world of the 4th century or even earlier'.

[78] Collected in Rigsby 1996.

[79] Cf. Erskine 2002.

[80] Herzog and Klaffenbach 1952; Rigsby 1996, 106–153.

Bithynian king Ziaelas is of particular interest. The Koans, by approaching a king somewhat on the margins of the Greek world, were recognising his desire to participate in the community of Greeks.[81] A second *asylia* dossier comes from late third century Magnesia on the Maeander in western Asia Minor.[82] The Magnesians had established a Panhellenic festival in honour of Artemis Leukophryene and they too had sent ambassadors throughout the Greek world to obtain recognition for the festival. About twenty groups of Magnesian ambassadors travelled thousands of miles, covering an area from Sicily to Iran.

The decrees from Kos and Magnesia give a sense of the changes that have taken place in the Greek world. These cities which for so long had existed in the marginal territory between Greek and Persian could now look upon themselves as the centre of a Greek world that extended far into the East, south to Egypt and as far west as Sicily or even further. Kos at various times had found itself recognising the Karian rulers of Halikarnassos and the authority of Athens, while Magnesia's position in mainland Asia Minor put it more securely within the Persian Empire.[83] This long occupation of the margins may be one reason why they needed to affirm their Greekness by inscribing so many decrees. Whereas the Delphic *theorodokoi* list reflects the view from the traditional centre of the Greek world, a different perspective emerges in the texts from Kos and Magnesia, one that moves beyond the Mediterranean while still incorporating the old world. Magnesian *theoroi* are thus to be found not only in Sicily but also travelling deep into the Seleukid kingdom to Antiocheia in Persis, while Koan *theoroi* venture into Bithynia.

The old Greek world, however, could be flexible when it needed to be, as various examples of kinship diplomacy reveal. This was the practice of representing a request for assistance from another city as if it were taking place between two cities related by ties of kinship. This kinship could be real or imagined, historical or mythical. Its role was not so much to persuade as to legitimate the request and to place it within the context of a long-term

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[81] Welles, *RC* 25 (= *Syll.*^{3} 456), Rigsby 1996, no. 11, both of whom comment negatively on the Greek. For Polybios' critical comments on his descendant Prousias, Polyb. 30.18, 36.15. On community of Greeks, Erskine 2005.

[82] *I.Magnesia* 16–87; Rigsby 1996, 179–279 gives the text of all the responses, together with commentary.

[83] On the history of classical Kos, briefly in Reger 2004, 752–754, more fully in Sherwin-White 1978; for Magnesia, Rubinstein 2004, 1081–1082.

relationship.[84] An embassy from Kytenion to the Lykian city of Xanthos in the late third century provides a good and unusually detailed example of this.[85] This small city in the region of Doris in mainland Greece was on a mission to raise money for the reconstruction of its city walls. With this goal in mind the ambassadors were quite willing to represent themselves as kin of the Lykians of Xanthos, supporting their case with complex genealogical arguments. They even stress their own connection to king Ptolemaios who, they say, 'is a kinsman of the Dorians by way of the Argead kings descended from Herakles'. Here the whole Hellenistic world comes together in a network of kinship relations, albeit only because necessity demands it. The exchange, significantly, works in both directions. The speech of the ambassadors is an affirmation of the Xanthians' own aspirations to Greekness, their desire to be part of the old Greek world; it is for this reason that the Xanthians take the uncommon step of inscribing a permanent record of what the ambassadors said.[86] This interchange between old and new worlds can also be seen to the east of Lykia in Pamphylia and Cilicia, where the arrival of Alexander and the Macedonians had encouraged the cities there to claim a Greek past that tied them into the Macedonian royal family. For that they turned to Peloponnesian Argos, supposed ancestral home of the Argead kings of Macedon, but, as with Kytenion and Xanthos, it was not a one-sided relationship. Argos, a city past its prime, was prepared to endorse these claims, which gave it an importance beyond the Peloponnese and connections in the new world, not only to southern Asia Minor but also to the cities of Seleukid Syria, in particular Antiocheia.[87]

What all this suggests is that there is no one view of the new world from the old, but rather shifting perspectives, depending on factors, such as tradition, circumstances and location. Even though Polybios is writing one hundred and fifty years or so after the death of Alexander, for him it is the old world that is properly Greece. This was certainly shared by others, but as Kytenion and Argos show there was room for pragmatic acceptance or even

[84] Erskine 2002, cf. also on kinship diplomacy Jones 1999 (esp. 50–65) and with special reference to myth, Curty 1995; Sammartano 2008–2009 focuses on the role of kinship in the Magnesia decrees. See also the discussion in Stavrianopoulou in this volume.

[85] First published in Bousquet 1988.

[86] Argued in detailed in Erskine 2003b.

[87] Scheer 2003, 226–231 (more fully argued in Scheer 1993); note in particular the late fourth cent./early third cent. Argive decree, granting citizenship to the people of Aspendos in Pamphylia, Stroud 1984. For the mythological link from Argos through Tarsos to Antiocheia, Strabo 16.2.5.

for whole-hearted embrace of it as can be seen in Kos and Magnesia, even if the latter's old world credentials might be perceived as a little weak, at least when viewed from the Peloponnese.

At the beginning of this paper I drew attention to differences between Plutarch's view of Alexander and the Hellenistic age and Polybios' view. But although Plutarch presented Alexander as a bringer of Hellenic civilisation, in other ways he too may have shared some of the outlook of Polybios. His *Parallel Lives* contains an odd selection of Hellenistic biographies—there is no Seleukos, no Ptolemaios and no Antiochos. It is common to say the Greek writers of the Roman Empire, often gathered together under the label 'Second Sophistic', were not interested in the Hellenistic period and preferred the classical period.[88] This, however, does not explain Plutarch's selection, because he does include Hellenistic biographies, but the subjects of them are all of particular relevance to the Greeks of the old world. They include leading figures of mainland Greek cities such as Aratos of Sikyon, Philopoimen of Megalopolis and Kleomenes of Sparta, Eumenes the only Greek among the Macedonian Successors and two kings who had an impact on the Greek mainland, Pyrrhos of Epiros and Demetrios Poliorketes. This was the old world, the world that really counted if you were from Chaironeia or Megalopolis. In this sense Plutarch, the priest of Delphi, was as traditional as Polybios.

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[88] Cf. the influential article of Bowie 1970, 14.

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THE HELLENISTIC FAR EAST: FROM THE *OIKOUMENE* TO THE COMMUNITY

Rachel Mairs

Communities in the Hellenistic Far East

The Hellenistic world was an arena for the formation of new communities—real and imagined—and redefinition of old ones. Recent scholarship has offered many approaches to how one should conceptualise these communities, the circumstances of their formation, their internal dynamics and their external relations. In this paper, my general aim will be to examine the social practices and cultural landscapes of one particular region of the Hellenistic world, the 'Hellenistic Far East'. This 'Siberia of the Hellenistic world'[1] was situated at the political and cultural margins of the *oikoumene*, and modern scholarly analysis has focussed most frequently on its internal cultural diversity, and the vibrant influences it incorporated, not just from the Greek world, but from the cultures and societies of the Iranian world, Near East, Central Asia and India. In what follows, I seek to identify some of the things which bound the Hellenistic Far East together, and explore how these diverse influences came together to create a whole.

My partiality to the word 'community' derives, of course, from Benedict Anderson's dissection of modern nationalism as the making of 'imagined communities'.[2] Although I will not always phrase it as such, my goal in this paper is, however, to see what might be gained by searching for a 'social imaginary' in the Hellenistic Far East. I take my working definition of the 'social imaginary' from Charles Taylor's *Modern Social Imaginaries*: 'the ways people imagine their social existence, how they fit together with others, how things go on between them and their fellows, the expectations that are normally met, and the deeper normative notions and images that underlie these expectations'.[3]

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[1] Rawlinson 1909, 23.

[2] Anderson 1991. I should make it clear that I am not proposing any kind of 'Graeco-Bactrian nationalism'.

[3] Taylor 2004, 23.

My discussion in general will be light on theory, or at least on explicit reference to and quotation from modern theoretical and methodological works. Part of my aim in this is to avoid too much duplication or repetition of discussions elsewhere in this volume. Although I use theoretical terms and tropes rarely, I do not dismiss them, and I do not use them lightly. It is also my view that the Hellenistic world is capable of being a generator and creative adapter as well as a 'consumer' of theory, and that active—two-way—dialogue with the social sciences is to be fostered. To these ends, I shall briefly introduce a few wider points and concepts within which my arguments should be situated.

I would like to put some emphasis on the cognitive spaces in between identity and its articulation. Identities operate on both a macro and a micro level, from an overarching individual or communal 'identity', to the various social, cultural, ethnic, gender, or sexual 'identities' by which people may define themselves or be defined by others. Cognitively and rhetorically, such identities also function at multiple levels. They may be articulated publicly, or articulated privately. They may be consciously imagined, felt (but below the level at which one can even put it into words to oneself), or they may be something subconscious which comes forth into conscious thought and expression only under particular circumstances. Such circumstances may arise when a person or community are confronted with different ideals and ways of doing things, which provoke them to define and articulate the criteria of group membership. But these kinds of reformulations or reifications of identities are constructed around certain understandings that predate the oppositional situation or context.

One of the conceptual advantages of the 'social imaginary', in my view, is therefore that it does not have to work at the level of conscious speech or thought. As Taylor notes, 'Humans operated with a social imaginary, well before they ever got into the business of theorizing about themselves'.[4] The ancient Greeks, of course, loved nothing better than to theorise about themselves. But in the Hellenistic world, we must be particularly sensitive to the distinction between our theories about them, and their own.[5] The archaeological evidence from the city of Aï Khanoum, which I have discussed at greater length elsewhere,[6] and revisit below, provides at least one good example of an institution which scholars describe in one way, with reference

[4] Taylor 2004, 26.
[5] Mairs 2011b, 186.
[6] Mairs forthcoming.

to its architectural features and affinities (the 'Temple with indented niches', with 'Mesopotamian' influence), but which locals will have described in others, which better matched their concept of this institution and its position in the life of their community.

I am not suggesting that we can identify or reconstruct, from the available archaeological and textual evidence, a shared and clearly articulated theory of what it meant to be 'Graeco-Bactrian' (I use the term purely for the purposes of illustration). What I think we can glean from this evidence is some idea of what social and cultural practices were accepted, and within the realms of the familiar, for inhabitants of the Hellenistic Far East. These may or may not have been consciously understood or expressed, but we do have some evidence that the way in which at least one 'Greek' community of Central Asia thought of themselves was very different from how they appeared to their supposed Greek compatriots. This confrontation is played out in the notorious episode of the massacre of the Branchidai by Alexander the Great and his army:[7]

> While the king was pursuing Bessos, they arrived at a little town. It was inhabited by the Branchidai; they had in former days migrated from Miletos by order of Xerxes, when he was returning from Greece, and had settled in that place, because to gratify Xerxes they had violated the temple which is called the Didymeion. They had not ceased to follow the customs of their native land, but they were already bilingual, having gradually degenerated from their original language through the influence of a foreign tongue (*mores patrii nondum exoleve-rant: sed iam bilingues erant, paulatim a domestico externo sermone degeneres*). Therefore they received Alexander with great joy and surrendered their city and themselves. He ordered the Milesians who were serving with him to be called together. They cherished a hatred of long standing against the race (*gens*) of the Branchidai. Therefore the king allowed to those who had been betrayed free discretion as to the Branchidai, whether they preferred to remember the injury or their common origin. Then, since their opinions varied, he made known to them that he himself would consider what was best to be done. On the following day when the Branchidai met him, he ordered them to come along with him, and when they had reached the city, he himself entered the gate with a light-armed company; the phalanx he ordered to surround the walls of the town and at a given signal to pillage the city, which was a haunt of traitors, and to kill the inhabitants to a man. The unarmed wretches were butchered everywhere, and the cruelty could not be checked either by community of language (*commercium linguae*) or by the draped olive branches and prayers of the suppliants. At last, in order that the walls might be thrown down, their foundations were undermined,

[7] Parke 1985; Hammond 1998.

> so that no vestige of the city might survive. As for their woods also and their sacred groves, they not only cut them down, but even pulled out the stumps, to the end that, since even the roots were burned out, nothing but a desert waste and sterile ground might be left. If this had been designed against the actual authors of the treason, it would seem to have been a just vengeance and not cruelty; as it was, their descendents expiated the guilt of their forefathers, although they themselves had never seen Miletos, and so could not have betrayed it to Xerxes.[8]

The two sides had very different impressions and expectations of this same encounter. Alexander and his army were quickest to recognise the actions the Branchidai had taken which set them beyond the pale of collective Hellenism. The Branchidai had betrayed their fellow Greeks and aided the Persians, placing themselves on the wrong side of the most potent and emotive self-other divide of all.[9] Furthermore, despite maintaining their ancestral customs in Central Asia, they had 'degenerated' into a state of bilingualism. It is perhaps significant that this degeneration does not amount to a complete abandonment of the Greek language. The point is that their residual Greekness is tainted by contact with a non-Greek language, and that they have shown a willingness to adopt this language in the same way as they chose to betray Didyma to the Persians.

The Greeks therefore perceived the Branchidai as having transgressed against the core values of the Greek community. The Branchidai, on the other hand, viewed themselves and Alexander's army as common members of this community. Their eagerness to welcome Alexander and his army was based on the erroneous assumption, not just that they subscribed to the same shared values and ideas, but that they would be recognised as sharing in them. The tragic consequences of this misunderstanding illustrate the stark contrast which may exist between an individual or community's concept of their own identity, and that of outsiders.

As much as anything, of course, Curtius relates this episode as an anecdote about Alexander's brutality, his rashness and drive to action, even when the Milesians themselves were divided about what should be done with the Branchidai. Not only does Alexander massacre the population, but he deliberately and methodically destroys the whole fabric of the city, the surrounding countryside, and the inhabitants' holy places. As Curtius wryly notes, what Alexander has in fact done is to destroy the Branchidai

[8] Curt. 7.5.28–35 (trans. Rolfe 1946, slightly modified).
[9] See, for example, the seminal study of Hall 1989.

descent-community which has made a life for itself in Central Asia, not the original traitors.

My subjects in this paper are not the Branchidai, however, but the descendents of these very same soldiers of the army of Alexander in Central Asia who annihilated them and their city. There is a certain irony in the fact that the destroyers of the Branchidai in effect 'became' them. The Greek-ruled kingdoms of the Hellenistic Far East which grew out of Alexander's garrisons and city foundations maintained Greek language and culture, but they also—from both ancient and some modern perspectives—'degenerated'.

I shall introduce material from the Hellenistic Far East as a whole, but my focus will be on the Greek kingdom of Bactria. Bactria was nominally ruled by the Seleukids until the middle of the third century BCE, when the Diodotid dynasty established an independent state.[10] Around the turn of the third to the second century BCE, Demetrios I and his successors undertook military campaigns into north-western India. A patchwork of Indo-Greek states survived, producing their own coinage, until around the turn of the Common Era. The Graeco-Bactrian kingdom itself, however, fell victim to a fatal combination of dynastic conflict, foreign wars and nomadic invasions in the 140s BCE.[11]

Although the kings of the Hellenistic Far East appear only very rarely in Greek and Latin historical sources, their coinage has long been the subject of scholarly interest, and new archaeological excavations in the twentieth century—especially at the city of Aï Khanoum—have given us a better picture of the material culture of the region in the Hellenistic period than had long been thought possible. Alfred Foucher, the first director of the *Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan*, who excavated without much success at the Bactrian capital of Bactra in the 1920s, reluctantly dismissed the notion of a materially distinct 'Greek' Bactria as a mirage.[12] We now know that Hellenistic Bactria was not a mirage after all, but that does not mean that we are necessarily any closer to understanding it.

The material record from the Hellenistic Far East displays great diversity in its influences, with stylistic traits, religious practices and even political institutions with their origins in the Mediterranean world, the Near

[10] Holt 1999.

[11] Described in the greatest detail—which in ancient histories of the Graeco-Bactrian kingdom does not generally amount to much—and with the greatest insight by Just. *Epit.* 41.6.1–5.

[12] Foucher and Bazin-Foucher 1942–1947, 73–75, 310; Bernard 2007.

East, India and Central Asia. These influences are the product of a tumultuous political history. Bactria and adjacent regions of Central Asia were controlled, with greater or lesser degrees of success, by the Achaemenids, by Alexander the Great, and by his political heirs, whether the Seleukids or local dynasties of Greek descent. Population movements accompanied these conquests—especially the Greek military colonies left by Alexander—and Bactria's history of outside domination and colonisation is very visible in its material culture. This cultural interaction and diversity is, to modern analysis, the most striking feature of the material record of Hellenistic Bactria. The region has however, often suffered from being reduced to the somewhat schizophrenic sum of these influences, without sufficient attention being devoted to the organic whole—the Bactrian polity and community—which these diverse influences combined to create. A further issue is that such diverse cultural contributions to the social and cultural entity that was Hellenistic Bactria have tended to be treated in sense of passive influence, rather than active engagement: the instrumental adoption and manipulation of material and practices.

How, then to move away from isolating the cultural components of Graeco-Bactrian culture and their various sources, towards developing an idea of what it meant to be an inhabitant of this region in the Hellenistic period, and how this cultural and social milieu functioned in and of itself? My interest here is in how the creation and assertion of these kinds of identities worked in Hellenistic Bactria: to gain some idea of the nature of the Bactrian 'social imaginary' or 'imagined community'.

What follows is a series of suggestions for arenas in which we might try to see Hellenistic Bactria *qua* Hellenistic Bactria: the ways in which diverse cultural influences were incorporated and made socially meaningful; and the common practices and material forms which made Bactria Bactria and Bactrians Bactrians.[13] Can we propose any 'markers', any diagnostic criteria, for a Hellenistic Bactrian culture? When we examine the architecture, urban scheme and material culture of an archaeological site in the region, what specific features can we identify which it shares with other contemporary Bactrian sites, but not with the more distant settlements and cultures to which it is usually compared? I suggest a number of ways in which we

[13] I use 'Bactria' and 'Bactrians' here in an essentially geographical sense, to refer to the culture and inhabitants of Bactria in the Hellenistic period. As I shall go on to discuss, 'Bactrian' is among many ethnic descriptors which we have, as yet, no evidence were actually used by the populations of Hellenistic Bactria themselves.

can use the textual and archaeological evidence to bind Hellenistic Bactria together, as a community, rather than pick it apart, as a sum of influences from the Hellenistic *oikoumene*, the Near East and Central and South Asia. I begin, however, by addressing the question of the ethnic descriptors—ancient and modern, emic and etic—which have been applied to the inhabitants of the Hellenistic Far East themselves.

Ethnic Descriptors and (Self-)Definition

A problem with which we are immediately confronted is that none of the written documentation surviving from (rather than concerning) the Graeco-Bactrian kingdom applies any kind of ethnic adjective to any individual or group. The only far-eastern Greek described in such a way is Heliodoros, ambassador of the Indo-Greek king Antialkidas to the court of an Indian king, Bhāgabhadra, who left a Prākrit dedicatory inscription at a temple site in Besnagar in the late second century BCE. He is described, in some detail, as 'Heliodoros, the *Bhāgavata* [devotee of Vishnu], son of Dion, of Taxila, the Greek ambassador who came from the Great King Antialkidas'.[14] The intersections of language, politics, religion and ethnicity in this inscription are complex. Heliodoros is both a Greek[15] and a Taxilan (Antialkidas' capital in the north-west). 'Greek-ambassador' is a compound. Perhaps most importantly, we do not know whether these are designations he chose for himself, or represent how he was perceived by his hosts. I shall return to these, and other problems, when considering some scholarly assumptions about the identities of those inhabitants of the Hellenistic Far East on whom the sources are more reticent.

At an Indian court, Heliodoros was considered a 'Greek', but we have little information on what weight the term 'Greek' carried inside the Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek kingdoms, in contrast to outside them. In contemporary Egypt, Ἕλλην was an important category. In Ptolemaic census registers, it was used to differentiate those of Greek descent—and those 'tax Greeks' entitled to equivalent benefits and tax exemptions—from the bulk of the Egyptian population.[16] But in other contexts, in documents whose primary purpose was not to separate out the 'Greek' tax category, Greek

14 Trans. Salomon 1998, 265–266.

15 A *yona*, derived from the word 'Ionian', as commonly in the East: Sancisi-Weerderburg 2001.

16 Clarysse and Thompson 2006, 138–147.

regional ethnic descriptors tend to be used. Thus a Greek immigrant to Egypt and his descendents are more usually identified as 'Cyrenaean', 'Cretan', 'Macedonian' and so forth than generically as 'Greek'.[17]

I should not be surprised if something similar were to be found to have been the case in Hellenistic Bactria. If more Greek documentary texts are discovered, one of many interesting points will be to see whether the contracting parties use ethnic descriptors, and if so, what kind. 'Greek' and 'Bactrian' were most probably socially meaningful categories, whether or not the same administrative hierarchisation applied as in Egypt. But we should also suspect that important subdivisions existed within these categories and that, depending upon context, an individual might identify strongly with a more localised regional or class- or clan-based identity. Among the Greek names known from Aï Khanoum, there are certainly some suggestively regional Greek names, such as Triballos, dedicator of an inscription in the gymnasium, who bears the name of a Thracian tribe, or Kineas, in whose shrine the inscription of the Delphic maxims was set up, for whom Louis Robert proposes a Thessalian origin.[18]

In Polybios' account of the siege of Bactra by the Seleukid king Antiochos III in 206 BCE, in fact, a Greek of Bactria is depicted as playing upon both of these levels of Hellenic identity.[19] The Graeco-Bactrian king Euthydemos makes common cause with Antiochos by invoking the barbarian threat: menacing nomad hordes were poised to overwhelm them both. In negotiations with Antiochos' envoy Teleas, however, Euthydemos appeals to their common Greek regional identity—both men are Magnesians—rather than the classic Greek-barbarian opposition. This episode takes place more than a century after the initial military settlement of Bactria by Alexander the Great, which, if Euthydemos' claim to a Magnesian identity is accurately represented by Polybios, therefore suggests that regional Greek ethnic descriptors continued to be used in Bactria among subsequent generations of locally-born Greeks. The fact that Heliodoros is described as 'Taxilan' may further suggest, however, that such identities evolved over time, and that local hometowns also became important.

Somewhat predictably, the ethnic descriptor 'Bactrian' (Βάκτριος, Βακτριανός, *Bactrianus*) is extremely rare in Greek and Latin inscriptions and documentary sources, and we have no attestation of it in the sparse documentary

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17 For a full listing of such ethnics, see La'da 2002.

18 Robert 1968, 419–420, 432–437.

19 Polyb. 11.34.6–14.

material from within Bactria itself. The word does not occur at all in papyri from Egypt. A search of Latin inscriptions in the *Epigraphik-Datenbank Clauss-Slaby* yields only a *camelus optimus bactrianus*, listed in the Aizanoi copy of the Diocletian's Prices Edict.[20] An inscription from Pergamon of the reign of Hadrian mentions Ὀρόντης δὲ Ἀρτασύ[ρου, τὸ γέν]ος Βάκτριος,[21] but this is in an historical account and is in any case muddled. The reference is to the fourth century BCE Armenian ruler Orontes son of Artasyros, who captured Pergamon and rebelled against Artaxerxes III. He was not a Bactrian, and the confusion stems from the fact that his father had been satrap of Bactria.

The only 'real' Bactrian designated as such in a Greek inscription is Hyspasines, son of Mithroaxos, whose name appears in inscriptions from Delos of the first half of the second century BCE. These record λέοντος προτομὴ ἐμ πλινθείωι, Ὑσπασίνου Μιθροάξου Βακτριανοῦ ἀνάθεμα 'the upper part of a lion on a plinth, the dedication of Hyspasines, son of Mithroaxos, a Bactrian' (179 BCE).[22] Over a quarter of a century later, we find an ἐκτύπ[ω]μα ἐ[μ πλινθείωι?] Ὑρκανοῦ κυνός, ἀνάθεμα Ὑσπαισίνου Βακτριανοῦ ('relief figure of a Hyrkanian dog on a plinth, the dedication of Hyspaisines [*sic*!] the Bactrian'; 153/152 BCE).[23]

The date of these dedications—the first half of the second century BCE—makes them especially interesting, because they were made during the period of the Graeco-Bactrian kingdom. Hyspasines and his father have Iranian names, so it appears that 'Bactrian' in this case refers to a Bactrian of indigenous descent, not a member of the Greek settler community. Beyond this, we are in the realms of speculation, and we do not known what brought Hyspasines to Delos—which was at this period a dynamic trading community of Greeks and Italians.[24] The metamorphosis of the lion into a Hyrkanian dog may, however, offer some insight into what the people of Delos understood a 'Bactrian' to be. The piece itself may well have deteriorated beyond immediate recognition over time, but the new—very specific—label 'Hyrkanian dog' betrays some assumptions about Bactrians and their ways. Cicero, drawing on earlier writers, states that in Hyrkania

20 Crawford and Reynolds 1977; 1979.

21 *I.Pergamon* 613, ll. 4–5 (= *OGIS* 264).

22 *I.Délos* 442 B, ll. 108–109 (= Canali De Rossi 2004, no. 320); cf. 443 Bb, l. 33; 454 A, l. 7; also restored in 455 Bd, l. 7.

23 *I.Délos* 1432 Aa II, ll. 26–27 (= Canali De Rossi 2004, no. 321); cf. 1450 A, l. 136, which omits Hyspasines' name.

24 See e.g. Adams 2002 on these groups and their inscriptions.

dogs were kept to devour the dead.[25] Strabo, reporting the account of Onesikritos, claims that in Bactria, until the coming of Alexander, the old and the sick were 'euthanised' by being thrown alive to dogs kept expressly for that purpose.[26] Cicero and Strabo were, of course, writing long after the dates of the Delian inscriptions in question, but did ethnographic snippets of this sort influence someone on Delos in interpreting the Bactrian's dedication as a 'Hyrkanian dog'? The choice to describe Hyspasines son of Mithroaxos as a 'Bactrian' may or may not have been his own, but the curious incident of the dog on the plinth indicates, perhaps, that he was also subject to local Greeks' assumptions about him and his identity.

Given the problems and pitfalls in trying to establish the 'identity' even of those very few inhabitants of the Hellenistic Far East who are given explicit ethnic descriptors in our written sources, we should proceed with extreme caution in 'identifying' those for whom we have none. The problem of emic *versus* etic definitions is particularly acute—and by 'etic' I refer not just to the perspectives of ancient outsiders, but to those of modern commentators. The case of Sōphytos, son of Naratos, commissioner of one of the most recently published Greek inscriptions from the Hellenistic Far East, should be taken as a cautionary tale.

The Sōphytos inscription[27] recounts, in the first person, the story of Sōphytos, son of Naratos, who narrates in highly literary Greek verse how he restored the fortunes—and the tomb—of his once great family. Sōphytos puts emphasis on his cultivation of the ἀρετή of Apollo and the Muses. He gives himself no description other than the patronymic 'son of Naratos', which is repeated in an acrostich. Several attributes of the inscription, however, have been taken as suggestive of his ethnic background, and the identity which he claimed for himself. First, the provenance of the inscription. No details of the circumstances of its discovery have been made public, but it appears to have been established to the editors' satisfaction that it came from Kandahar, ancient Alexandria in Arachosia. In the second century BCE, the period of the inscription, Arachosia had been brought back into the Hellenistic political fold after the Graeco-Bactrian conquests south of the Hindu Kush, but in the third century had been part of the (Indian) Maurya Empire. This brings us to the second point, the identification of

25 Cic. *Tusc.* 1.45.108.

26 Strabo 9.11.3.

27 Bernard, Pinault and Rougemont 2004 (= *SEG* 54.1568 = Merkelbach and Stauber 2005, 17–19, no. 105).

Sōphytos' name and that of his father Naratos as Indian in derivation, from Subhūti and Nārada.[28] Third, Sōphytos' references to his travels, which contain an appropriate Homeric allusion, consonant with his demonstration of his good Greek education (l. 11: ἐπ' ἐμπορίηισιν ἰὼν εἰς ἄστεα πολλά). The temptation to speculate about where these commercial travels took him—west to the Hellenistic kingdoms, north to Central Asia or even China, south to India—is almost too great.

My point is not that efforts to discover Sōphytos' family background—or to contrast a proposed Indian origin with his espousal of Greek high culture—are essentially misguided, nor that any of the hypotheses formed about his identity are 'wrong' as such. But I would like to propose a complementary way of engaging with this inscription, by viewing it, and the man who claims its authorship, as products of a local community at Alexandria in Arachosia. Arachosia's history from the late fourth through to the second century BCE followed a trajectory quite different from that of other regions of the Hellenistic Far East, passing between various political masters, Persian, Greek and Indian.[29] In contrast to Hellenistic Bactria, it had its closest affinities, geographically, culturally and politically, to the Indian world, despite its settlement with Greek military colonists under Alexander, and the continued production of Greek inscriptions.[30] Whether or not he was in addition a 'Greek' or an 'Indian', or whichever of these identities he did or did not claim for himself, or have applied to him by others, Sōphytos' home city was Alexandria in Arachosia. His homecoming from his travels was to a city where his family had a long and illustrious history, although they had since fallen on hard times (ll. 1–2: δηρὸν ἐμῶγ κοκυῶν ἐριθηλέα δώματ' ἐόντα | ἴς ἄμαχος Μοιρῶν ἐξόλεσεν τριάδος). He worked to restore his family's reputation and property, and concludes with the hope that his sons and grandsons will inherit the fruits of his labours (ll. 19–20: οὕτως οὖν ζηλωτὰ τάδ' ἔργματα συντελέσαντος | υἱέες υἱωνοί τ' οἶκον ἔχοιεν ἐμοῦ). There is a very public aspect to all of this: Sōphytos becomes celebrated (ὑμνητός), 'shows himself' on his return, to the joy of his well-wishers, and imagines his stele 'speaking' to passers-by (ll. 13–14, 18). In his inscription, Sōphytos' greatest concern is in fact the opinion of his own community, that of Alexandria in Arachosia.

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28 Pinault 2005.
29 Bernard 2005; Mairs 2011b.
30 Canali De Rossi 2004, nos. 290–298.

The 'Gift of the Oxus': Theophoric Names and Religious Cult

Herodotos, famously, referred to Egypt as the 'gift of the river (Nile)'.[31] The river Oxus, and the many smaller rivers which flowed down into it from the surrounding Pamir and Hindu Kush mountains, were important to Bactria in many ways: as sources of water for irrigation; as transportation routes, whether by water or following the valleys carved by the river; and also symbolically. To return to the Greek settlements north of the Hindu Kush, the first marker of 'Graeco-Bactrianness' I would like to propose is the use of theophoric Oxus-names, personal names derived from the river Oxus. These enjoy a great popularity at all periods for which we have written evidence, from the period of the Persian Empire, through Graeco-Bactrian rule, into the period of the Kushan Empire. A collection of Achaemenid Aramaic administrative documents, which have been subject to only a preliminary publication, contain names such as *Hašavaxšu* 'adherent of the true Vaxšu (Oxus)', *Vaxšubandaka* 'servant of Vaxšu', *Vaxšuvahišta* 'adherent of Vaxšu the best' and *Vaxšudāta* 'given by Vaxšu', as well as other names resonant of Bactrian places or gods.[32] Among the local chiefs who resisted Alexander the Great was *Oxyartes*, father of Roxana.[33] In economic texts written on jars from the Treasury at Aï Khanoum we find the names *Oxeboakes* and *Oxybazos*.[34] In the period of the Kushan Empire, texts in the Bactrian language yield such names as *Oakhshobordo* 'received from the Oxus', *Oakhshogolo* (meaning uncertain), *Oakhshoiamsho* 'dedicated to the Oxus and Yamsh(?)', *Oakhsomarego* 'slave of the Oxus' and *Oakhshooanindo* 'victorious through the Oxus'.[35] I make no assumptions about the ethnic identities, descent or cultural milieu of the bearers of these names, beyond noting that they are a distinctive feature of the Bactrian onomastikon at all the periods with which we are here concerned.

The river Oxus was worshipped as a god, as we know from the excavations at Takht-i Sangin, on the right bank of the Oxus in what is now Tajikistan, a site which had a large and impressive temple complex.[36] At the Temple

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[31] Hdt. 2.5.1.

[32] Shaked 2004, 24.

[33] Alexander's siege of Oxyartes at the 'Sogdian rock' and his subsequent marriage to Roxane are related by Arr. *Anab.* 4.18–19.

[34] Canali De Rossi 2004, nos. 324–325, 346.

[35] Sims-Williams 2010, nos. 321–325.

[36] Litvinskiy and Pichikiyan 1981; for full bibliography, see Litvinskiy and Pichikiyan 1981; Mairs 2011a, 25.

of the Oxus, strikingly, diverse forms of artistic influence, language and religious practice come together to create an idiosyncratically Bactrian place of worship. In a Greek inscription on a miniature altar, topped with a statuette of a Silenus-like figure, a man named *Atrosōkes*—an Iranian name—makes a dedication to the god Oxus.[37] Some of the votive objects from the temple bear images of gods or other supernatural creatures from the Greek and non-Greek world associated with water.[38] The name of the Oxus also appears in Greek letters on a more recently discovered fragmentary stone piece.[39]

The cult of the Oxus is only part of the Bactrian religious mosaic. At the temple at Takht-i Sangin, there is evidence—hotly debated—for the presence of a Zoroastrian-style fire cult.[40] The main temple at Aï Khanoum reveals diverse forms of religious practice even within a single sanctuary.[41] What is lacking, however, in the religious architecture of the region in the Hellenistic period is anything which we might describe as stereotypically 'Greek'. In fact, the strongest connections are to traditions of Near Eastern temple architecture, and such connections between Central Asia and the Near East are of considerable antiquity. In one distinctive feature of the Aï Khanoum temples—the decoration of temple facades with three-stepped niches—it is possible to look for local analogies in the Bronze Age Bactria-Margiana Archaeological Complex (*BMAC*), as well as in contemporary and later architecture from the Near East. Superficially similar 'blind window' features exist, for example, at the *BMAC* temple at Gonur in Margiana.[42] My point is not necessarily that the Aï Khanoum temples are the descendents of the *BMAC* temples, more that the local context can yield potential analogies for the material culture of Hellenistic Bactria, and that it is methodologically justified, even important, for us to look for them there in addition to contexts geographically distant from it. The diversity of Bactrian culture is the product of participation in Near, Central and South Asian systems of interaction, dating to well before the Hellenistic or even Achaemenid periods.

[37] Canali De Rossi 2004, no. 311; Litvinskii, Vinogradov and Pichikyan 1985.
[38] Litvinskij and Pičikian 1995; Bernard 1987.
[39] Canali De Rossi 2004, no. 312; Drujinina 2001, 263.
[40] On religious practices at the temple, see the discussion in Boyce and Grenet 1991, 173–181.
[41] Francfort 1984; Mairs forthcoming.
[42] Sarianidi and Puschnigg 2002, 77–79.

Cityscapes

The site of Aï Khanoum has attracted scholarly attention—and in recent years even popular interest, through exhibitions[43] and television documentaries[44]—for two rather contradictory things. First of all, its apparently aberrant 'Greekness' in Central Asia:[45] features such as the presence of Greek inscriptions, such specialist Greek cultural and social institutions as the theatre and gymnasium, and the use of artistic motifs and architectural elements such as Corinthian capitals which derive from Classical models. Paradoxically—although this in fact represents an evolution in the excavators' view of the site—it has also become known for its juxtaposition of the Greek and the non-Greek: the placement of these same very overtly 'Greek' elements in a more culturally and artistically mixed whole. We find a palace complex with analogies in Near Eastern, and specifically Persian palace architecture (as I shall go on to discuss), temples with Near Eastern plans and features, such as their stepped podiums and niched façade decoration (as I have already noted), and houses which do not conform to any supposedly 'Greek' model.

Although it is a worthwhile exercise to pick apart these constituent influences, much of our inclination and ability to do so, I would argue, derives from modern scholarly programmes of training and disciplinary boundaries. In the combination and juxtaposition of different motifs and styles in the architecture and urban plan of Aï Khanoum, we, as modern scholars, are in fact poorly equipped to identify the foreign and aberrant. How can we say that the forms which we perceive as 'Greek' or 'Persian' or 'Mesopotamian' were regarded as such, named as such, by the population of Aï Khanoum, and the populations of Bactria as a whole? How much of it had been naturalised into a familiar local way of doing things, at least by the city's own inhabitants and in the generations following the initial Graeco-Macedonian settlement? A local may not have known anything of the different cultural traditions, far away in the Mediterranean or Near East, of which his city's visual culture was stylistically composed. Even if he did, these might not have been foremost in his mind as he went about his daily business. On a fairly fundamental level, I would therefore argue, Aï Khanoum, in all its

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[43] Cambon and Jarrige 2006; Hiebert and Cambon 2008.
[44] Lecuyot and Ishizawa 2006.
[45] Bernard 1967; 1982.

apparently contradictory diversity, has to make sense because to its inhabitants it did make sense. It is our responsibility to find a way of viewing it as a community.

Domestic Architecture

Another area in which I would suggest we can see a distinctive Hellenistic Bactrian way of doing things is in domestic architecture. The dissimilarity that has sometimes been remarked between the plans of the private houses and residential units within public buildings at Aï Khanoum and anything we might recognise as typical of the Greek or Mediterranean world is of dubious cultural or social significance.[46] It is debatable how much we can tell from the floorplan of a house alone. Certainly, the houses at Aï Khanoum, despite their supposedly non-Greek plan, contain bath installations with mosaics, something very stereotypically Greek.[47]

Whatever cultural significance we invest this with, however, there are some common features of Hellenistic Bactrian domestic architecture which we might indicate. At Aï Khanoum, within the central palace complex—itself bearing similarities to Persian palaces—there are two residential units. Two private houses were excavated, in the southern district of the city,[48] and outside the city's northern walls.[49] Aerial photographs reveal that the size, plan and orientation of the southern house were typical of the other houses in the neighbourhood.[50] At Saksanokhur, a site to the north of Aï Khanoum, across the Oxus in modern Tajikistan, another grand house was excavated, of the Hellenistic period or a little later.[51] The Aï Khanoum houses share greater similarities with each other than they do with the Saksanokhur house.

My comments about the features which these houses share will be rather brief, but the commonalities between them, I suggest, indicate that there was a typical format to a large, elite Graeco-Bactrian house. Of more humble dwellings, of course, we know comparatively little, beyond the evidence of some small one or two-roomed houses on or near the upper city of Aï Khanoum.

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46 On the plan of Graeco-Bactrian houses, see, for example, Francfort 1977.
47 Bernard 1975, 173–180; 1976, 291.
48 Bernard 1968, 272–276; 1969, 321–326; 1970, 312–313.
49 Bernard 1974, 281–287.
50 Leriche 1986, pl. 9.
51 Litvinskii and Mukhitdinov 1969; Mukhitdinov 1968; see also Litvinskij 1998, 54–56.

First, and most importantly, the Bactrian houses are responses to their environment. They face away from the prevailing, rain-bearing winds from the south. They enclose large courtyards which—at Aï Khanoum at any rate—are yards adjacent to the house-proper, and occupying an equal or greater surface area; they are not central courtyards. The main reception rooms of the house open off the yard, through a roofed but open porch, typically supported by two columns. In the literature, these porches are often referred to as *aiwans*, a term borrowed from later traditions of Persian and Central Asian architecture. It is, I think, a step too far to say that these two porch forms are directly connected to one another, but the analogy is an evocative one.

What is perhaps most striking about the Bactrian houses, however, is the way in which their architects used corridors, not just to link areas of the building, but to separate—segregate—rooms and complexes of rooms. In Bernard's view, these reflect '[un] souci obsédant de matérialiser par des couloirs les axes de circulation et de canaliser ainsi les cheminements sur des parcours fixés à l'avance qui contournent, sans les traverser, les pièces ou groupes de pièces, voire même des édifices entiers […]'.[52] The whole architectural scheme of the Aï Khanoum palace is dictated by this principle, where units of the buildings nestle within each other like Russian dolls, enclosed by corridors whose sole purpose seems to be precisely to isolate. Likewise, the private houses and residential units use corridors to demarcate areas of the house and even, in the case of the house outside the walls, to surround the whole structure, including the yard. What is the purpose of these corridors? There are a number of possibilities—and in the present state of the evidence these must remain possibilities. Do the formats of Hellenistic Bactrian houses reflect a form of segregation of the household along gender or other social lines? Might climate be a factor—would nests of encircling corridors enable a building to retain heat or keep it cool in the region's continental climate? It is certainly within the local Bactrian context that we should look for the answer.

Hellenistic Bactria as Hellenistic Bactria

We must, of course, be wary of geographical determinism or cultural assumptions in our approach to the shared material and cultural features

[52] Bernard 1976, 297.

which, apparently, make Hellenistic Bactria, Hellenistic Bactria—a place which is bound together by these common elements, while at the same time demonstrably having social structures and aspects of its material culture which ultimately originate in distant regions such as the Mediterranean littoral. As I have noted with regard to domestic architecture, climate is an important factor in the development of distinctive local ways of doing things. The land, its physical geography and climate produce continuities over time in matters such as canal irrigation, the close interaction of settled and pastoral economies and communities, and even in the most small-scale and mundane elements of the administration. In eastern Bactria, canal irrigation dates back to the Bronze Age, and networks and even individual canals are maintained over centuries.[53] This indicates both the organisation and mobilisation of labour and resources, and some continuity in management. We have only a very few Aramaic, Greek and Bactrian administrative documents from the region, but these too offer tantalising glimpses of the ways in which new regimes might utilise the existing administration, who provided the most efficient and most knowledgeable apparatus for maximising revenue from the land and may have helped to minimise any 'shock of the new' and potential unrest. Among the Aramaic documents from Bactria is one which relates precisely to this kind of regime change. The document in question is dated to a regnal year of Alexander, but otherwise retains the language, scribal personnel, administrative practices and preoccupation with mundane everyday affairs such as the allocation of barley, of earlier documents.[54] In Bactria, it is business as usual. The notion of a Bactrian *koine* may also be useful in assessing continuities in material culture in the periods before and after the Graeco-Bactrian kingdom.

In the preceding discussion, I have intentionally downplayed the tension which might be implied in the juxtaposition, in the material culture of Hellenistic Bactria, of styles and motifs originating from different geographical regions and cultures. In north-western India, in the Indo-Greek states established in the aftermath of the Graeco-Bactrian expansion south of the Hindu Kush around the turn of the third-second centuries BCE, we find some still more striking examples of such juxtapositions, and these we can say with greater certainty are the product of a deliberate political policy.[55] The two sides of an Indo-Greek coin—such as those of Heliodoros'

53 See the discussion in Francfort and Lecomte 2002.
54 Sims-Williams 2000, no. A17; Shaked 2004, 17–18 with fig. 2 (Doc. C4): 8 June 324 BCE.
55 Coloru 2009, 195–208.

king, Antialkidas—may depict Greek and Indian deities and religious symbolism, use Greek and Prakrit, and refer to a single Greek-named king as both *basileus* and *mahārājah*.[56] Here, perhaps, we can bring the theoretical models and approaches of modern postcolonial studies to bear more directly than I have argued elsewhere is possible for Bactria.[57] The very conscious cultural bilingualism or hybridity of the images, languages, and political and religious symbolism of Indo-Greek coins, says something potentially interesting about the abilities of the region's populations to move between cultural and linguistic spheres, and to respond to being addressed in different visual and linguistic *koines*. In Hellenistic and Roman Egypt, we know that such cultural mobility might be very fluid, and perceived as essentially unproblematic by those who participated in it.[58] So here too, as with the perhaps less self-conscious hybridisation of Bactrian architecture and cityscapes, any impression we may gain of cultural contradiction, schizophrenia or hypocrisy is a false impression, proceeding from present-day disciplinary boundaries.

Conclusion

As a solution to the general 'Sōphytos Problem' in Hellenistic Far East scholarship, the replacement of the comforting specifics of an ethnic descriptor—Heliodoros was a Greek, Sōphytos was an Indian—with the altogether more unsettling notion of a nameless, perhaps not even consciously articulated, sense of shared local ways of being and doing, may not be regarded by all as a fair trade. It certainly provides little in the way of cognitive closure. I am not arguing, however, that one should cease entirely to focus on the building blocks of the culture and identities of the Hellenistic Far East, but rather that standing back and examining the whole which these blocks come together to make may offer a perspective closer to that of local, contemporary communities. In addition to the virtues of adopting a more holistic perspective, I have further proposed some things which Hellenistic Bactrian communities had in common with each other, but not without outsiders of any stamp. I cannot prove that any of these common features

[56] For some examples of Antialkidas' bilingual coinage, see Bopearachchi 1991, 95–97, 273–279.

[57] Mairs 2011b.

[58] See e.g. Quaegebeur 1992 on dual naming in Egypt, and Boiy 2005 on a similar phenomenon in Hellenistic Babylonia.

I identify would have been perceived by the Hellenistic-period populations of Bactria as being something they held in common, still less as constituting the core values, institutions, and ways of doing things on which a Bactrian social imaginary or imagined community was built. I do think, however, that some of these features might have been so perceived, and that the common things which all inhabitants of Bactria would have found familiar are as important an aspect of their culture as the diverse influences they received, appropriated and reimagined from the world beyond Bactria.

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EPILOGUE

ALEXANDER THE GREAT AND *ISKANDER DHU'L-QARNAYN*: MEMORY, MYTH AND REPRESENTATION OF A CONQUEROR FROM IRAN TO SOUTH EAST ASIA THROUGH THE EYES OF TRAVEL LITERATURE*

Omar Coloru

Introduction

At the beginning of the first explorations in Asia by Western travellers, the accounts of classical authors such as Herodotos, Diodoros of Sicily, Curtius Rufus, Plutarch, and Arrian were the sole sources through which they could learn the history of the Achaemenid Empire and the campaigns of Alexander in the East. References to Alexander the Great occur frequently in such records.

We know that Alexander and his prodigious deeds gained unprecedented notice, the like of which had not been attained by any other historical figures. Notably, Alexander, compared to other conquerors of Antiquity, was the first to cross the cultural and geographical borders of the Mediterranean world and spread into a much wider area, so that we could speak of a phenomenon of *global* proportions. As Leopold von Ranke noted in 1881, Alexander is among the few historical figures for which biography takes hold of World history.[1]

The bibliography on the fortunes of the Macedonian conqueror, extensive, increases through the years, as evident in the more recent works of A.B. Bosworth and E.J. Baynham (2002), *Alexander the Great in Fact and*

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[1] Von Ranke 1881, 172.

Fiction; R. Stoneman (2008), *Alexander the Great. A Life in Legend*, and A. Demandt (2009), *Alexander der Grosse: Leben und Legende*. Also, from 2003, P. Briant has devoted his public lectures at the Collège de France to contemporary perceptions of Alexander. In 2011, he turned his attention to the topic of descriptions and observations reported by ancient travellers of Persian Achaemenid sites.[2]

In 1996, an important collection of essays, *The Problematics of Power: Eastern and Western Representations of Alexander the Great*, edited by M. Bridges and J.C. Bürgel, presented broad, high quality analyses of the duality and ambiguity of the figure of Alexander in Western and Eastern art and literature of the Middle Ages. R. Stoneman, with R.K. Erickson and I. Netton, organized *The Alexander Romance in the East*, an international conference in Exeter (26–29 July 2010),[3] which considered a variety of issues from fresh perspectives, and also, to its merit, extended the field of research to China. The focus of these works is generally centered on matters of—and related to—art, literature, religion, and the history of political thought. However, in my opinion, a study of the impact of the figure of Alexander on Eastern populations at social and cross-cultural levels remains an important scholarly omission. An effort in this direction, although intended for a general audience and with the limits imposed by the genre, has been recently undertaken by journalist M. Wood, with his documentary *In the Footsteps of Alexander the Great* (1997), and his book of the same title (2001), where he tries to collect the surviving traditions on Alexander in the East through the testimony of local populations.

Although the sources I am going to analyze in this paper date from a period much later than the Hellenistic Age, it is clear that the core of information that they provide on the social imaginary concerning Alexander is the product of a complex process of elaboration and hybridisation of traditions which already took place during Alexander's lifetime and evolved in the next centuries. Thus, the approach I propose focuses on the effects of this phenomenon in the *longue durée*.

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[2] Resumes of the 2003–2010 lectures are available at http://www.college-de-france.fr/default/EN/all/civ_ach/resumes.htm. Audio podcasts of the 2011 lectures can be found at http://www.college-de-france.fr/site/pierre-briant/#|q=/site/pierre-briant//_audiovideos.jsp|.

[3] The proceedings are now published in Stoneman, Erickson and Netton 2012.

On the Importance of Travel Literature

It is posited here that *travel literature* represents an important and invaluable aid in discerning the issues involved in the impact of Alexander on Eastern populations at social and cross-cultural levels. Clearly, this genre of literature offers a vivid picture of how local populations perceived Alexander and related to him.[4] An aim of this paper is to provide evidence of this phenomenon in the wide geographical area between Iran and Sumatra, and to address its socio-cultural implications. To achieve these aims, I present a survey of a representative selection of material.

The legendary Alexander and his deeds in the East have never ceased to exert great fascination. A dramatic illustration of this assertion is presented by a golden plaque found in the nomadic necropolis of Tillya Tepe in northern Afghanistan. It shows two Greek soldiers with iconography recognized as that of Alexander, however, with almond eyes and oriental facial features. As the burial dates to the first century CE, we may assume that not only the image of the Macedonian conqueror had become part of the cultural background of the nomads (or at least that of the craftsman), but it was also readapted according to their aesthetic canons.

But more poignantly, it was through Arabic and Persian literature, specifically, the *Ta'rīkh al-rusul wa l-mulūk,* written by at-Tabarī (838–923), the *Shah-nameh,* by Ferdowsi (935–1020), and the *Iskander-nameh* of Nezami Ganjavī (1141–1209) that Alexander became a popular hero in the East. The spreading and importance of histories on Alexander in Eastern lore is well attested in travel literature, as evident in the following:

Duarte Barbosa (†1521).

> Thus, going forward, leaving behind the kingdom of Diul and entering the first India we come to the kingdom of Guzerate [= *Gujarat*], whereof it seems King Darius once was king, for the Indians have yet many tales of him and Alexander the Great.[5]

A. Olearius (1603–1671).

> In writing history, the Persians take that freedom which is only allowed to poets and painters, especially in the way they treat the history of Alexander

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4 For a remarkable collection of descriptions of the pre-Islamic antiquities of Iraq and Iran provided by travellers between the 12th and 18th centuries, cf. Invernizzi 2005. For the Russian travellers in the 19th and 20th centuries, see Andreeva 2007.

5 Barbosa 1996, 108.

> the Great which has been so modified that it does not correspond to the information transmitted by the Graeco-Roman tradition.[6]

C. de Brujin (ca. 1652–1727).

> […] Alexander the Great, who the oriental people call *Dhulkarnam*, i.e. 'the horned one', because he became master of the two horns of the Sun, which means the Occident and the Orient.[7]

I.K. de Meyendorff (early 19th century).

> The study of history has not much progressed in Bukharia, because the mullahs judge it a profane and useless subject. The only exception to this rule were the so-called *Annals of Iskander Zul-karnein* which were read in public by order of the khan of Bokhara. A man especially employed for this task went to the main square of the town and read the history in front of a numerous and attentive audience.[8]

If we consider the fact that in contemporary Iran it is still possible to see tale-tellers who describe episodes from the *Shah-nameh*,[9] we can realize the importance and the antiquity of this tradition.

R. Cotton Money (early 19th century).

> Some pillars bear the marks of fire; and it is an interesting corroboration of the fact mentioned by Western historians, that the report here, prevalent among the oldest inhabitants, and handed down by tradition, is, that Iskander set fire to it in one of his drunken bouts. I have since heard from my *Moonshee*[10] that the fact is expressly stated by one of their old historians.[11]

J. Wolff (1795–1862).

> Speaking about the education of two young mullahs from Yarkand he writes: 'To give you an idea of the learning of these youths, I will mention that one knew the Koran, and the second a book called *Secunder Nameh*, or the life of Alexander the Great, written in Persian'.[12]

E. Flandin (1809–1889) and P. Coste (1787–1879).

> The [Persian] travellers I had questioned did not know anything precise either about the origin nor the destruction of the palace of Persepolis. Nevertheless,

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6 Olearius 1669, 248.
7 De Brujin 1718, 288 (my trans.).
8 De Meyendorff 1826, 298–299 (my trans.).
9 Wood 2001, 119–120; Briant 2003, 501–502.
10 *Moonshee*, 'secretary, language teacher' from Arab *munši* > Persian and Urdu *munšī*.
11 Cotton Money 1828, 56.
12 Wolff 1835, 331.

all of them had heard about a conqueror called *Iskander* in whom I easily recognized Alexander.[13]

Certain Characteristics of Alexander Found in the Eastern Traditions

The few, brief sketches of the main characteristics of Alexander's figure as they appear in oriental traditions will serve as a conceptual guide to the reader. Alexander is, in the first instance, a great conqueror, a founder of towns, and the builder of imposing defensive structures. Polignac observed that these features suggest the image of a *kosmokrator* monarch, protector of the order against the forces of chaos.[14] But Alexander is also emblematic of wisdom, a champion of monotheism, and ultimately, of the role of Prophet of God.[15] Beside the preceding positive picture of Alexander, there is a negative one that is embedded in the Zoroastrian tradition. There, Alexander is mainly seen as the destroyer of *Ērānshar*, 'the kingdom of the Aryans'. That notwithstanding, he is held to have sought to erase from all memory the Zoroastrian religion by burning the *Avesta* and killing the Magi.[16] This view, which survived through the filter of the Sasanian tradition, affected the representation of Alexander in later works of Persian poetry, so that we can speak of an ambivalent figure where positive and negative characteristics are present at the same time. In the 17th century, for example, the Zoroastrian community in Persia still retained this view, as witnessed by Jean Chardin (1643–1713), who was informed by a wise Zoroastrian of Isfahan that Alexander was nothing else than a pirate or a bandit, a man without justice and a fool born to trouble the order of the world and to destroy a part of mankind.[17] With this basic scheme in mind, we can now go on to the analysis of the evidence.

Alexander the Builder

It could be a truism that the image of Alexander as a builder and a founder of towns is as ancient as the existence of Alexander in itself. Indeed, the

13 Flandin and Coste 1851, 173 (my trans.).
14 De Polignac 1982, 296–306; 1984, 29–51; 1999, 1–17. See also Demandt 2002, 11–21.
15 A useful sourcebook on Alexander in Islamic tradition has been recently published by Di Branco 2011; see also Stoneman 2008, 20.
16 See e.g. Gaillard 2005, 17–22; Gignoux 2007, 87–98; Daryaee 2007, 89–95.
17 Chardin 1711, vol. 9, 148.

Alexander Romance ascribed to the conqueror the construction of a barrier in order to prevent the invasion of *Gog and Magog*, a Biblical term meant to designate the wild and warlike populations settled outside the borders of the civilized world.[18] By the first century CE, the historian Flavius Josephus was already aware of this legend and identified Gog and Magog as the Scythian tribes living beyond the Caucasus.[19] That tradition, as it developed, spread both in the West and the East. In the Quran (surat *Al-Kahf* 18.83–98), King Dhu'l-Qarnayn builds a wall made of copper and iron in order to keep those barbarians out.

The location of that metallic monument changed depending on the sources as well as their interpretation, alternating, however, generally between the Caspian Gates and the Caucasian Gates.[20] The matter becomes complicated by the fact that there is not one, and only one, Caspian Gate nor one, and only one, Caucasian Gate. The multi-faceted and superimposed layers of the tradition could reveal itself as a real Gordian knot. It may be enough to note that, in the 12th century, a general consensus placed the Caspian Gates at the mountain pass close to Derbent in Daghestan.[21] The name *Derbent* (from Pers. *darband*) means 'barrier', 'narrow pass', and the same toponym has been applied to other places in Asia,[22] among which the best known are the fortifications close to Baisun in Uzbekistan which were built during the Hellenistic period and used until the 15th century CE. When Olearius visited the town in 1638, he was informed by the inhabitants that not only the Caspian Gates, but also Derbent was the work of Alexander, so that it was called *Schacher Junan*, 'the town of the Greeks'. Even the remains of the Sasanian fortifications guarding the pass were attributed to the Macedonian conqueror.[23]

The long line of ancient fortifications running from the Caspian Sea towards the eastern range of the Iranian mountains and passing between

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18 See e.g. *Gen*. 10.2; 1 *Chron*. 5. On the role of *Gog* and *Magog* as archetypes of evil, see Seyed-Gohrab, Doufikar-Aerts and McGlinn 2010.

19 Joseph *BJ* 7.7.4. For a study on Alexander's kingship in the Jewish version of the Romance see Klęczar 2012.

20 Kettenhofen 1996, 13–14.

21 See van Donzel, Schmidt and Ott 2010, 53. The legend of Alexander as founder of Derbent and builder of its wall was also reported by other travellers, e.g. the two Venetian ambassadors Giosafat Barbaro (2010 [1873], 86) and Ambrogio Contarini (2010 [1873], 145), who went there in the last decades of the 15th century; the Englishmen Anthony Jenkinson (1886, 128–129), Christopher Burrough (1903 [1598–1600], 236); Thomas Herbert (1638, 201); John Cook (1770, 347–350).

22 Arioli 2003, 133.

23 Olearius 1669, 299–300.

the plains of the Gorgan and Atrek rivers was explored, among many others, by the Irish journalist Edmund O'Donovan (1844–1883) in 1879. According to recent excavations, this defensive structure was first built by the Parthians and then restored by the Sasanians in the fifth and sixth centuries CE.[24] When O'Donovan visited the site, the attribution to Alexander was already part of an old tradition spread among the Turkmens, who called this structure both *Alexander wall* and *Kizil Alan*, i.e. 'the red snake', because of the colour of the bricks. This appellation is still in use today. The same traveller reports that a building on the site of Merv, the ancient Alexandria/Antiocheia in Margiana, was locally known as *Iskander Kala*, 'Alexander's castle', because Alexander was thought to have camped there with the army on his way to India.

> This is the local tradition, but in these countries Alexander, or, as he is styled, Iskender, comes into every story connected with ruins of remote antiquity. A *moullah*, a brother of Makdum Kuli Khan, who was explaining to me the local traditional history of the place, informed me that Alexander had foretold the destruction of Merv, and that he was a great *pihamber* [= prophet]. I ventured to express a doubt as to whether the Macedonian soldier had ever been endued with the gifts attributed to him by my informant, whereupon he flew into a violent rage, saying that it was easy to see that I was a *giaour*, and unacquainted with the truth of things in general, as it was well known that Iskender was a great *pihamber*, and scarcely second to Suleiman-ibn-Daoud himself. Of course I pleaded the ignorance of a *Ferenghi* on such matters in extenuation of my doubts, and said no more upon the subject.[25]

According to local traditions, in 1845 the ruins and mounds on both sides of the river Helmand (Afghanistan) were still thought to be ancient sites flourishing in the times of Alexander, especially the one located north of the Girishk fortress, as Joseph Ferrier (1811–1886) recorded during his captivity there.[26] In his travels through Georgia, Chardin passed by the *Scander* fortress which, so he was told, the local inhabitants called *Scanda* and said had been built by Alexander.[27]

At times, the figure of Alexander prevails also in the Iranian tradition, as in the case of Bokhara, which, according to the wise elders of the town, was founded by the mythical hero *Afrasiab*, while common people held that it was Alexander.[28]

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24 Omrani Rekavandi et al. 2007, 95–136; 2008, 151–178.
25 O'Donovan 1882, vol. 2, 249–250.
26 Ferrier 1856, 311.
27 Chardin 1711, vol. 2, 106.
28 Wolff 1835, 180.

Other works, in addition to fortifications and towns, were attributed to Alexander by popular lore. The pillars raised by the Mauryan king Ašoka (ca. 304–232 BCE) in several parts of India were often considered a work of Alexander: that at Allahabad described by William Finch in 1611, and by Thomas Herbert in 1626, or the one in Delhi seen by Thomas Coryat ca. 1615.[29] Another similar monument was the *Minar-i Chakari*, also called the Alexander's Pillar, placed outside Kabul along the road going to Jalalabad. Actually, it was a Buddhist column erected in the first century CE and now lost forever because of the Taliban, who destroyed it in 1998 with a rocket. Nonetheless, we still have a dramatic description accompanied by an engraving printed in the memoirs of Vincent Eyre (1811–1881),[30] an officer of the East India Company who fought in the first Anglo-Afghan War (1839–1842).

Other more peculiar buildings were those considered the ovens built by order of Alexander to prepare bread for his soldiers. In September 1670, these ovens were shown to the Dutch traveller Jan Struys (†1694) in Shabaran, Azerbaijan. Struys says of them, naively, that they were still in quite good condition.[31] The inhabitants of Firuzkuh in Northern Iran had shown James Justinian Morier (1780–1849) the remains of a windmill and a bath believed to have been built at the time of Alexander.[32]

Apart from buildings and monuments, two more categories may be added to this list: the first consists of items which were considered to belong to the Macedonian conqueror or relate somehow to his history. It goes without saying that this custom has ancient precedents and serves the purpose of enhancing the prestige of a shrine. If we are to trust Flavius Josephus (*AJ* 12.355), Alexander is supposed to have left his cuirass as well as his arms in the temple of Nanaya in Elymais, where they were still kept at the time of the campaign of Antiochos IV. By reading the accounts of the travellers, one may come upon unusual objects such as a big nail used in one of the tents of Alexander's camp which was kept inside a temple in Lhasa, Tibet.[33] Another example is the town of Margelan in Uzbekistan, where a red standard of Alexander was supposed to have been kept.[34]

Finally, we can include natural attractions and landmarks. In 1814, William Ouseley (1769–1842) explored the mephitic cave situated 100 feet

29 Finch 1921, 177; Herbert 1638, 65; Coryat 1921, 248.
30 Eyre 1843, 300–301.
31 Struys 1720, vol. 2, 152.
32 Morier 1818, 363.
33 Wolff 1835, 346.
34 Ujfalvy de Mezö-Kövesd 1879, 174.

above the village of Iskandriah (today Eskandar, close to Saidabad, Iran), ascribed by the inhabitants to Alexander or to Aristotle, who supposedly used the cave as a treasury.[35] Apparently, the villagers were sure of seizing the treasure if only they could find the talisman against the poisonous gas.

Robert Binning (1814–1891) says that the strait, known today as the Strait of Hormuz, between the northern point of Oman and the coast of Iran, was also called *Bab-i-Iskander*, i.e. 'the Alexander Gate'.[36] In Tadjikistan, a lake, the Iskander-Kul, and a river, the Iskander-Darya, are named after Alexander. Likewise, in Eastern Iran we can find a *Rig-i Iskender*, the 'desert of Alexander'.[37] In Sumatra, the *Bukit Iskander*, the 'Hill of Alexander', marked the emplacement of a stone shrine which was just one among many places in the island named after the Macedonian.[38]

Going back in time, the seventh-century Byzantine historian, Theophylaktos Simokates, preserved a copy of a letter said to have been sent by the Turk *Qagan* Tardu to the emperor Maurikios in 595 CE, but the real author of the letter was actually Tardu's rival, the *Qagan* Niri (588–604).[39] This document, meant to inform the emperor about his victories, was written in Sogdian by the Sogdian members of the Turk embassy to Constantinople.[40] In fact, the letters report the existence of two Chinese towns, namely *Xoubdan* (= Ch'ang-an) and *Taugast* (= Luoyang),[41] which were allegedly founded by Alexander.

> 9.1. And so, after concluding the civil war, the Chagan of the Turks managed affairs prosperously, while he made an agreement with the men of Taugast so that he might bring in secure peace from all sides and make his rule unchallenged (…).
>
> 9.6. This Taugast in fact, the barbarians say, was founded by the Macedonian Alexander when he enslaved the Bactrians and Sogdoane and burnt twelve myriads of barbarians (…).
>
> 9.8. There is a report that Alexander also founded another city a few miles away, which the barbarians name Chubda.[42]

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35 Ouseley 2004, 462–464.
36 Binning 1857, vol. 1, 133.
37 Hedin 1910, 236.
38 Gibson 1855, 155–156.
39 De la Vaissière 2010, 219–224.
40 Harmatta 2001, 113.
41 De la Vaissière 2004, 44, 204–231.
42 Trans. Whitby and Whitby 1986.

The story of the conquest of China, already present in the Syriac version of the *Romance*, had found his way in Central Asia. Thus, we can ask ourselves, if this allusion to the Macedonian conqueror was added by the Sogdian scribes, or contrarily, was intentionally made by Tardu/Niri. If that is the case, we would have a proof that by the end of the sixth century Alexander had become part of the cultural background of the Western Turks, or at least of the court. Furthermore, we can assume that the Syriac Alexander may be dated at the beginning of the sixth century rather than at the seventh as it is usually placed, because the letter of Tardu/Niri shows that at this stage this version had already made it to Central Asia.[43] We will return later on the political implications of the use of Alexander's figure in the letter.

The existence of traditions relating to Alexander and China can be found in two accounts of travellers. The first was written in 1860 by Thomas Witlam Atkinson (1799–1861).[44] During his journey to Asia he stayed in *Maimaicheng*, i.e., 'Trade town', a Chinese trading post established in 1728 by the Qing dynasty and corresponding to modern Altanbulag in Mongolia. While visiting the small theatre of the town, Atkinson made an unusual discovery:

> This is a small building, and immediately in front is a recess on each side of the colonnade, which form rooms about twenty feet long, and fifteen feet wide. In the centre of these were two pictured groups considerably larger than life; and the moment I saw them it was obvious to me that they were subjects from Greek history. That on the right hand represented a wild horse rearing on his haunches, held by two slaves. Although rudely executed in sandstone, there was much spirit and character in the composition, and the story was well told. In the left-hand recess the group consisted of a horse, probably the same animal, being led by a single figure, after his fiery temper had been subdued. I recognised the story of Alexander and Bucephalus. Without giving any hint of my own views on the subject, I desired the interpreter to inquire from the Chinese officer sent with me by the *Sargootcha*[45] what these figures meant, and the literal translation of his answer was, 'Philip of Macedon'. I could obtain no information as to when and where they were executed, but they are supposed to have been brought from China shortly after the building of Maima-tchin.[46]

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[43] On Turkic literature see Kayumov 2003, 379–382.

[44] Atkinson 1860, which was a complement to Atkinson 1858, where he described his travels in Asia from 1848 to 1853.

[45] Chinese governor.

[46] Atkinson 1860, 365–366.

The second narrative is that by the French explorer Henri de Bouillane de Lacoste (1867–1937),[47] who in 1906 performed a journey in the countries bordering Afghanistan. The following is the story of the *mazar*[48] of Sha-i-Dulah close to the Karakash river in Xinjiang.

> While our men were arranging our boxes in front of a cottage, where we found a shelter for the night, our *Yusbashi* [= 'chief of one hundred'], in an amiable mood, came and sat down by the fire, and told us, without much pressing, all the gossip of the valley. According to him, the *mazar* existed from the most remote times, and covered the tomb of a military chief who had come formerly at the head of an army to fight against the Chinese. It was interesting to know what might be the nationality of this *Shah-i-Dulah*, and I questioned the Kirghiz.
>
> 'Makedon', he answered us.
>
> He explained then that this warrior came from Mecca; but I remembered that the Sarts, whose language is almost the same as the people of that country, called Alexander the Great Iskandar-Makedon, and I then wondered whether *Shah-i-Dulah* was not a Macedonian, and consequently one of the generals of Alexander's army.[49]

The two texts are, indeed, intriguing, as they offer a good witness of Alexander's popularity in Central Asia. We can only speculate about the origins of the sculpture of Maimaicheng. If it really came from China, one might assume that the subject was first introduced by Sogdian traders and then resumed by the presence of Jesuit missionaries who were influential and held important positions at the Qing court. On the other hand, it may not be too farfetched to think of a local production: the earliest known translation of the *Alexander Romance* into Mongolian was discovered in a manuscript from the Turfan oasis dating to the 14th century.[50]

As for the second text, the hypothesis made by Bouillane de Lacoste could be acceptable. In fact, Kirghiz literature has been markedly affected by the influence of classical Arabic-Persian poetry.[51] The allusion to Mecca made by the Kirghiz as the place from which *Shah-i-Dulah Makedon* came fits well with some Arabic traditions depicting Alexander as a pilgrim to the centre

47 Bouillane de Lacoste 1909.

48 *Uyghur* loanword from Arabic, meaning 'place of paying homage' which is applied to tombs of saints or famous individuals.

49 Bouillane de Lacoste 1909, 116–117.

50 Cerensodnom and Taube 1993, 51–52; Kara 2003, 383–394.

51 Kydyrbaeva 2003, 403–410.

of the Muslim religion.[52] Furthermore, the latter text gives us the possibility to explore briefly an additional aspect of the issue concerning the buildings related to Alexander, in particular the emplacement of his tomb.[53]

It is universal knowledge that the body of the Macedonian was brought from Babylonia, where he had died in 323 BCE, to Alexandria in Egypt. Remarkably, a number of eastern towns have made the same claim, clearly for reasons of self-promotion. Early in the 18th century, Jean Otter (1707–1748) relates that a tomb of Alexander could be seen at Sharezur in Kurdistan.[54]

Among the best-documented cases, however, is that of Hamadan,[55] where we know of the existence of a *Gabr-i Iskandar*, 'the tomb of Alexander'. In the words of the orientalist A.V. Williams Jackson:[56]

> The so-called sepulchre is nothing more than a recess in a rounded bastion of clay, mortar, and stone, that now forms part of the foundation of a mud house which is occupied as a dwelling and is entered by a small door, a foot and a half wide and two feet high.

That alleged tomb was supposedly the burial place of a Macedonian officer who, like Kleitos in Samarkand, had been murdered by a drunk Alexander during a feast. Nevertheless, common people thought that this was the real tomb of Alexander and the same story is still told in Hamadan. Williams Jackson adds that the people of Hamadan, in order to give the ring of truth to this story, said that 'Alexander gave orders that after his death his body should be carried with outstretched arms, holding earth in the hand, about the kingdoms which he had conquered. His corpse should be buried wherever he withdrew the hand. This happened in Hamadan and the body was accordingly interred'.[57]

The Spanish traveller Alfonso Rivadeneyra (1841–1882),[58] on the other hand, describes another tomb at the entrance of the town of Sanah (= Sahneh, in Kermanshah province, Iran). It consists of a small enclosure surrounding a huge rock with a lamp upon it which marked the point where the body of Alexander lowered his arms as a sign of his will to be buried

52 See e.g. Renard 2008, 311 with n. 8.
53 See Christides 2000, 165–173; Doufikar-Aerts 2010, 23–36.
54 Otter 1748, 151.
55 On the medieval traditions on Hamadan, see Frye and Bosworth 2007, 151–153.
56 Williams Jackson 1906, 164.
57 Williams Jackson 1906, 164 with n. 1.
58 Rivadeneyra 1880–1881, vol. 2, 82–84.

there. Like the Hamadan tradition, this story is nothing but the development of an episode we can read in the *Qabus Nama* by Kai Ka'us, a sort of Mirror for Princes written in the 11th century, which was later repeated in the works by Nizami and Attar.

> [Alexander] made a will, desiring that when he died he was to be placed in a coffin pierced with [two] holes, through which his hands were to be extended with the palms open. It was to be borne along in such a fashion that men should see that although he had seized the whole world, he was departing from it with empty hands.[59]

In his journey from Isfahan to Bagdad, Jean Baptiste Tavernier (1605–1689) visited a small town—the name of which is unfortunately lost—located one day's march from Mount Behistun, and which the Persians considered the place where Alexander died when coming back from his expedition to India.[60] In the 19th and 20th centuries, we have reports of a tomb of Alexander in Margelan in the Fergana region in Uzbekistan. Henry Lansdell (1841–1919), who had been there in 1882, says that Alexander was considered one of the saints of Islam and his burial place was regarded as sacred.[61] Almost 20 years later, another traveller, Annette M.B. Meakin (1876–1959), personally visited the tomb.

> The Sarts themselves insist that it [*sc.* Margelan] existed before the time of Alexander. They even took me to see the spot where they believe that illustrious Greek to have been buried. The tomb of 'Alexander Macedonsky', as the Russian call him, is there indeed. The story goes that when Alexander came to Margelan, the people met him with an offering of a hen and a loaf of bread, which attention pleased him so greatly that afterwards, when he could not remember the name of the town, he called it *Murghi han*, which means 'hen and bread'.[62]

It is interesting to note that the inhabitants of the town were not only able to display 'real' objects to prove the passage of Alexander, but they also attributed the etymology of *Margelan* to the Macedonian conqueror. In this way the town, although by means of a play on words, could be considered a re-foundation by Alexander.

[59] English translation by Levy 1951, 136–137.
[60] Tavernier 1679, 316.
[61] Lansdell 1885, 501.
[62] Meakin 1903, 269.

Alexander: Kingship, Diplomacy and Ethnic Identity

Alexander has served as the model of the ideal king for monarchs in all ages since. Being recognized as the *Second Alexander* was one of the customary praises addressed to oriental kings.

According to the secret instructions of the Republic of Venice to Ambrogio Contarini (1429–1499), the ambassador was to convince the *shah* Uzun Hasan Āq Qoyunlu (1453–1478) to make war against the Turks by appealing to the fact that such a challenge would earn the king and his posterity the title of *Second Alexander*.[63] Amédé Jaubert (1779–1847) reports that Feth-Ali Khan, *naib* (= lieutenant) of Azerbaijan, praised the French soldiers as the true heirs of the virtues of Alexander.[64]

From this point of view, the ode to Feth-Ali Shah (1772–1834), copied and translated into French by General Claude Mathieu de Gardane (1766–1816) during his diplomatic mission to Persia (1807–1809), is emblematic: 'Rejoice, throne of Iskander and Dara, for a new Iskander has restored your ancient glory by crowning his forehead with the Royal Diadem'.[65]

Alexander Burnes (1805–1841), who was well acquainted with the oriental epistolary style, wrote a letter of appreciation in Persian to Mir Rustam Ali Khan, emir of Khairpur in contemporary Pakistan. In this message, the British agent defined the king of England as a monarch '*of the dignity of Alexander*'.[66] During his journey to Lahore, the natives called the same Burnes and his suite *Sikander-i-sani*, i.e. 'the Second Alexander', for having accomplished so dangerous a voyage.[67] In fact, this respectful form of address had been customary for many centuries. Ala-ud-din Khilji (1296–1316), sultan of Delhi, had coins struck with this royal title, and this practice was then followed by Bahman Shah (1347–1358), founder of the sultanate of Deccan. The Mughal emperor Humayun (1508–1556) bore the same title in the funerary inscription of his mausoleum in Delhi.[68] The reference to

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[63] Document dated 11th February 1473: '*sì che venendo non gli è dubietà e difficultà alcuna, che soa celsitudine non abbia ad esser el secondo Alessandro, et lassar in simel stato la soa posterità*' ['If it happens [*sc.* the war against the Ottomans], there is not any doubt nor difficulty that His Highness become the second Alexander and that he bequeath this status to his posterity' (my trans.)]; Berchet 1865, 148. On the Venetian-Persian relations, see also Rota 2009.

[64] Jaubert 1821, 143.

[65] Gardane 1809, 59 (my trans.).

[66] Burnes 1834, vol. 3, 61.

[67] Burnes 1834, vol. 3, 137.

[68] Cf. Herbert 1638, 99.

Alexander is far more understandable if we consider that those kings were originally from Afghanistan: Bahman, in particular, came from Badakhshan, seat of a dynasty of emirs claiming descent from Alexander, while Humayun had spent many years in Persia and was imbued with Persian literature and culture.

Comparison with the Macedonian conqueror was not the only way to legitimize and promote royal power, or a privileged position. Many individuals instead preferred to claim direct descent from him. This phenomenon has ancient precedents, as shown by the case of Dionysios, son of Pytheas, an important citizen from Teos who, in the second century BCE, made the same claim.[69] At the same time, in Central Asia, two rival kings of Bactria, Antimachos I and Agathokles, created a series of so-called *pedigree coins* on which Alexander was represented as the (ideal) founder of the dynasty.[70]

Since the times of Marco Polo we have known that the emirs of Badakhshan claimed a direct lineage from Alexander,[71] but they are not alone, as travellers inform us that between Central Asia and India many local chieftains did the same. The following are given by way of example: Ahmud Shah, emir of *Little Tibet* (= Ladakh);[72] Sekandar, raja of *Little Kashgar* (= Chitral);[73] Mahmud Shah, emir of Darwaz;[74] and other chieftains of territories east of this province, namely Koolab and Shughnan, Gilgit, Iskardo, and Wakhan north of the Amu-darya river;[75] to the south Sewad and Bijore (= Bajaur).[76] The descent from Alexander was also part of the royal titles borne by the king of Siam.[77]

A variant on this custom is present among a number of ethnic groups who do not claim direct descent from Alexander himself, but rather from the soldiers of his army. This is the case of the Tungani tribe, whose members were part of the garrison of Yarkand;[78] or of the people living in the village of Anzob in Tajikistan;[79] the Hunza/Burusho of Pakistan, even if, in the words

69 *SEG* 2.581 (col. II, l. 6): Διονύσιος Πυθέου ὁ ἐξ Ἀλεξάν̣δ̣ρου.
70 Coloru 2009, 200–201.
71 Polo 2005, 59.
72 Wolff 1835, 344.
73 Wolff 1835, 242; Masson 1842, vol. 1, 198.
74 Burnes 1842, 171; Elphinstone 1842, vol. 2, 387.
75 Burnes 1834, vol. 1, 222; vol. 2, 215–216.
76 Rennell 1793, 162.
77 Struys 1720, vol. 1, 93; Gibson 1855, 171.
78 Burnes 1834, vol. 3, 187.
79 Meakin 1903, 249.

of Charles Murray, Earl of Dunmore (1841–1907),[80] they looked like more Apaches than Greeks.

An ethnic group of Lhasa, the *Yoonan*, or *Yoonanee*,[81] were thought to be of Greek origin. On his journey, Ferrier arrived at Gazer Gah, near Herat, where he met a group of pilgrims going to Meshed;[82] they came from Hazart Imam, a little town north of Qunduz. Ferrier noticed that, even though they were dressed in Uzbek clothes, their features did not correspond to those of that people. What is more, they did not speak Turk or Tatar, which was current where they lived, but a corrupted form of Persian. When Ferrier asked more about their origins, they replied that they were the descendants of the *Yoonanes* that *Iskander Rumi* had left in their country.

Those claims have recently attracted the attention of geneticists who are trying to discover if there is some truth behind those pretended family ties with Alexander. In research led by an international team of genographic scientists,[83] the DNA has been sampled of three ethnic groups settled in Pakistan, namely the Burushto, the Kalash, and the Pathan, who claim to be descended from Macedonian soldiers. The result confirmed the general view that the Greek contribution to any Pakistani populations is apparently excluded. Nevertheless, a small percentage of the Y-chromosome of members of the Pathan tribe matches that of individuals from the Balkans area, and, in particular, the Northern part of Greece. According to the scientists, the arrival of this Y-chromosome in Pakistan should be dated to the period of the campaign of Alexander. It is expected that more research in the near future will provide us with a clearer picture.

Finally, there are ethnic groups, or even animals, for whom the relation with Alexander is used to point out their inferiority or subordination. During his exploration of Sumatra in 1853, Walter M. Gibson (1822–1888) described humanoid creatures—he did not know they were orangutans—who were generally called the *hamba/hoodak Iskander*, the fugitive slaves of Alexander who were barely capable of producing incomprehensible growling, and lived in a wild condition without knowing anything of their ancestors.[84] Alexander Burnes remarked that the popular etymology of the topo-

80 Dunmore 1893, vol. 1, 4–5.

81 Wolff 1835, 350.

82 Ferrier 1856, 162–163.

83 Firasat et al. 2007, 121–126. On the other hand, recent analysis led on a group of Afghan Pashtuns show no relations with their alleged origins from the Greeks, see Haber et al. 2012; Lacau et al. 2012.

84 Gibson 1855, 181; see also Forth 2008, 127–128.

nym *Hurund* (Punjab) was to derive it from the name *Huree*, one of the slaves of Alexander according to Persian tradition.[85]

It is well known that in the oriental traditions Alexander is often used as a chronological reference point in order to assign a building or a place to remote antiquity; however, this applies also to territorial claims, as in the case of the Tajiks of the Amu-darya who stated that they had been continuously occupying that area since Alexander's time,[86] which is equivalent to saying that the possession of their land was inalienable on the basis of an ancestral legacy. It is interesting to observe that having recourse to the memory of Alexander makes the territorial claim understandable (and legitimate) not only to the local population, but also to foreigners.

From an occidental perspective, the interest in Alexander's conquest of the Upper Satrapies, as well as the quest for the descendants of Alexander in the East, was not only driven by antiquarian interests or the desire of discovering an ancestry in common with the oriental populations, but introduced, also, a supplementary political motive aiming to justify the territorial expansion of the Western powers into and in Central Asia and India.[87] We can quote, for instance, a brief passage by Philip Henry Stanhope:

> In India at this moment the number of our subjects and dependents is in all probability greater than Alexander, than Augustus, than Charlemagne, than Napoleon ever knew. And if that vast people be as yet low in the scale of nations [...] their depression gives them only the stronger claim on our sympathy and care. Never did a Government stand more nearly in the parental relation to its subjects than the English Government of India.[88]

Conclusions

It is time to draw some preliminary conclusions from this survey on travel literature. In the relations between Western and Oriental civilizations, we may assume that the figure of Alexander works as a communication code based on the idea of excellence, a concept which affects different aspects of reality. To use an image, this code is the result of the encounter of two different sides of the same individual, that is to say the Western Alexander and the Oriental Iskander.

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[85] Burnes 1842, 73.
[86] De Meyendorff 1826, 194.
[87] See e.g. Hagerman 2009, 344–392.
[88] Stanhope 1858, 72.

Generally speaking, the Western Alexander has been codified by the authority of the Classical authors, and, from this point of view, has had less freedom to develop and mutate, while the Oriental Iskander, who was not tied to these sources, could change his image with more freedom, according to the needs of each individual or group.

In Europe, Alexander has been a subject of art, literature, historical studies, policy, but with no effect on our lives or the space around us. In Oriental eyes, the Macedonian is not a character confined to books or paintings; rather, he is someone whose memory is indescribably detectable in life.

The first aspect to consider is the perception of space: as the historical Alexander shaped the landscape by founding towns, his eastern double did the same through his epic deeds, which became part of the collective imaginary. Iskander represents not only the mark of quality and wonder, both with regard to works made by humans and those made by nature, but he also creates real *lieux de mémoire*,[89] with which local people can build their own identity or affirm it in the face of other groups. In the case of Alexander, however, those places of memory do not belong to the single community who has created them, but rather become part of the collective memory of the Western world. Even though a traveller is aware that a certain place or item has nothing to do with the historical reality concerning Alexander, he takes it more or less consciously as a proof of the influence, as it is in his eyes, of Western civilization on Eastern traditions.

The second aspect applies to an intercultural discourse:[90] Alexander represents the starting point at which two different civilizations can establish a dialogue. This works at all the levels of communication, from a simple exchange of information between two individuals to diplomatic relations. The reports by Gardane, Jaubert, and Burnes, for example, explain how a reference to Alexander may facilitate the creation of an atmosphere of mutual comprehension when dealing with foreign policy. In this connection, even the letter written by the Sogdian scribes for the Turk *Qagan* falls into this category, although it is not a specimen of travel literature. Nevertheless, it must be stressed that the reference to the foundation of Taugast and Xubdan by Alexander in China is not to be taken as an innocent detail to embellish the text; on the contrary, it is employed not only to make the Byzantines more familiar with so distant a land, but also to give a measure of the

89 Nora 1984.

90 See in particular the conclusions by Ng 2006, 308.

authority of Tardu/Niri, who succeeded in establishing good relations with that powerful city.

Alexander is strongly tied to ethnicity and its issues. In the East, the claim of direct descent from the Macedonian or his soldiers is often employed in order to legitimize power. However, it also plays an important role in the creation of the identity and the self-perception of a number of ethnic groups, who, by doing so, are thus able to emphasize their specificity with regard to other groups. To be sure, feelings of ethnic superiority were also developed by attributing to other people an origin from the slaves of Alexander.

To conclude: Travel literature is a useful tool for all those who are interested in the influence of Alexander on culture. At the same time, it provides us with a key for better understanding of historical—and contemporary—relations between West and East, at the least. It deserves more intensive scholarly attention than has been given it heretofore.

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